

Indonesia

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Looking Back Over 1964

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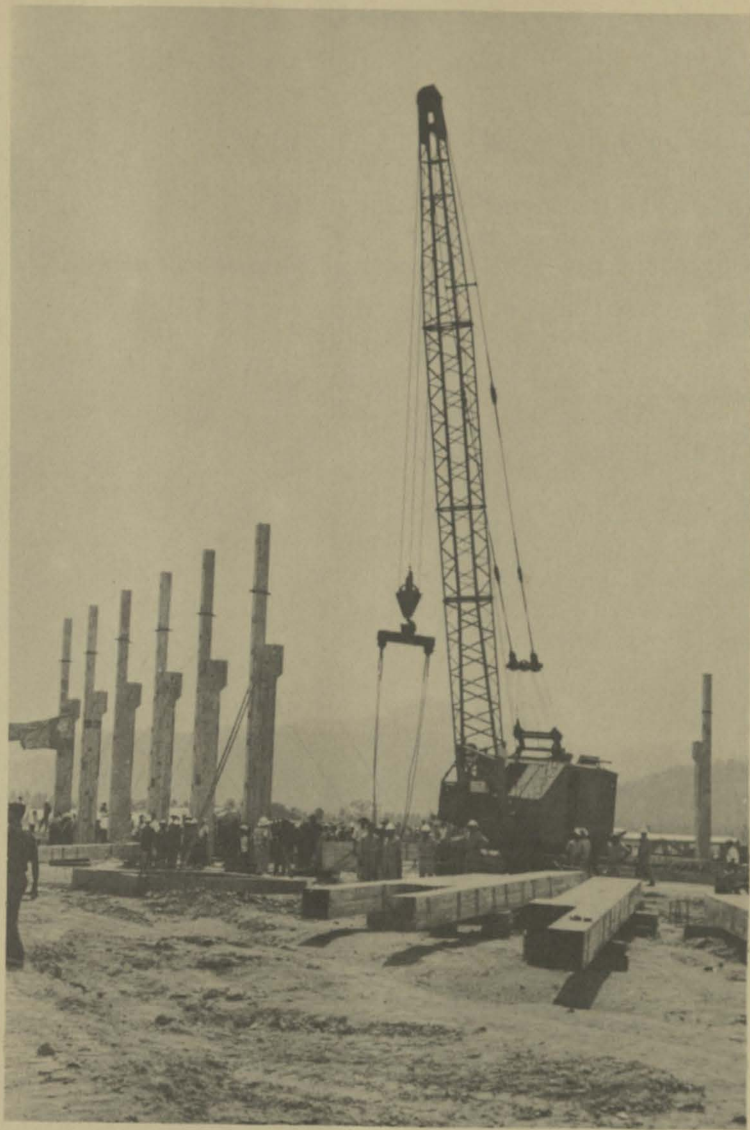
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At work on the Tjilegon steel rolling-mill.
(Dept. Foreign Affairs Photo)

INDONESIA

A Unitary Republic with Sovereignty vested in the People

Independence proclaimed:	17th August 1945
National Language:	Indonesian
National Flag:	Red and White Bicolour
National Anthem:	Indonesia Raya
National Day:	Proclamation Day, 17th August

Capital:	Djakarta
Population:	103,939,000 (estimate for 1964 based on 1961 census)
Geographical structure:	An archipelago of 13,677 islands, 6,044 of which are inhabited
Area:	Land: 735,381 sq. miles Territorial waters: 1,263,381 sq. miles

The government is a democracy guided by Pantja Sila, the philosophical basis of the State that is composed of the five inseparable and mutually-qualifying principles of:

Belief in God
Humanity
Nationalism
Sovereignty of the People
Social Justice

The Constitution declares "whereas independence is the natural right of every nation, colonialism must be abolished in this world because it is not in conformity with Humanity and Justice", and establishes the objectives of the Indonesian State as being to "protect the whole of the Indonesian People and their entire native land, Indonesia, and, in order to advance the general welfare, to develop the intellectual life of the nation and to contribute in implementing an order in the world which is based upon independence, abiding peace and social justice".

The colour pictures on the following pages show:

Page 9. One of the traditional costumes from Sumatra; the covered tray contains a gift for a guest.

Page 10. West Irian scene; facing the bay, Sukarnapura.

Page 11. Flags of the countries participating in the preparatory meeting for the Second African-Asian Conference decorate the road outside Hotel Indonesia and the Press House, Djakarta.

Page 12. Women leaders visiting West Irian. From left to right: Mrs Hurustiati Subandrio, Chairman of KOWANI and wife of the First Vice-Premier; Mrs Rusiah Sardjono, Minister of Social Affairs; Mrs Azis Saleh, wife of the Minister for Peoples Industries; Mrs Sudjarwo Tjondronegoro, wife of the Republic's Representative in West Irian during the UNTEA period since appointed Ambassador to Holland.
One of the country's crack bands playing in the Independence Day procession, 1964.















NEW FORCES BUILD A NEW WORLD

The life of Man today is undergoing a revolution as portentuous for progress as that which lifted Man from barbarism to civilisation. Today, for the first time in all the millennia of mankind, material well-being is a physical possibility for all the thousands of millions inhabiting the earth. Today, social consciousness is everywhere awake and all men demand democracy and social justice.

But the new forces striving for these things and emerging in human societies everywhere, come into conflict with the forces of the old, established order of the world where prosperity belonged to a small group which had seized it for themselves alone, and where democracy and social justice were but dreams for idealists.

Thus the world is now an arena of conflict between the new emerging forces and the forces of the old established order. The conflict is inevitable, since it arises directly out of the historical process of the development of human societies during recent centuries. It is a conflict of social forces rather than a conflict of states or countries, taking place also within the confines of individual states as well as between them. Because there is no longer any impediment from an inadequate means of production to the building of a new world of real democracy and social justice, but only the impediment of an outmoded order of various forms of domination, it is certain that the conflict will end with the victory of the new emerging forces which strive to build the world anew without domination, but with independence, social justice and abiding peace.

This is the proposition of the theory of the New Emerging Forces expounded during the last few years by Indonesia. It is a theory that has obtained increasing support amongst the developing countries, because it explains the problems they face and points to ways of obtaining beneficial and lasting solutions. It is also a theory frequently misunderstood abroad, partly because of its newness, but partly also because it is often misreported especially by the adherents of the established order of the world.

The old established order

It is not difficult to see that the old order of the world is changing, that the mid-twentieth century is a period of transformation and transition to new conditions.

But an historical view is needed to understand what is happening and what is the direction of the change.

In the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth, world affairs were dominated and decided by a number of West-European powers, notably Britain, France and Germany. After the struggles between them of the 1914–1918 war, the United States of America came increasingly to the fore as a world power, whilst in Asia Japan arose as a formidable commercial competitor with imperialist urges.

This situation had been taking shape since the fifteenth century when the Conquistadores of Spain and Portugal, and then the Merchant Companies of Holland, Britain and France set forth by sea for Asia to tap the wealth of the Asian trade at its source, and, discovering the Americas by accident, also proceeded to exploit their resources, too.

This was the beginning of the accumulation of the whole world's wealth in Western Europe. The silver of the Andes, the spices of Indonesia, the costly fabrics and arts of Asia, the slaves of Africa – these were the basis of the great commercial revolution that transformed, both in nature and scale, the pattern of trade which had previously characterised international commerce.

Two consequences of great significance followed from the commercial revolution.

On the one hand, the effort to harness this wealth to Europe began the process that led to the creation of the empires and colonies of the nineteenth century, since political control was found necessary to maintain commercial mastery. On the other hand, the accumulation of wealth in the countries of Western Europe gave groups of their population the means from which to finance the changes we know as the agricultural and industrial revolutions.

From these two consequences of the commercial revolution, and their mutual influences upon each other with the passage of time, there arose the empires of the nineteenth century, there developed modern capitalism and the managerial and technological revolutions.

This is how it came about that the West had political domination over the rest of the world, and this is how the West reached a level of industrial and technical development far in advance of the rest of the world. This is the intimate connection between the exploitation of the wealth of the colonies, both material and human, and the dominant position in world affairs of Western countries. And it is this exploitation and domination that has characterised the old order of the world which is today undergoing vast changes.

Transformation begins

The twentieth century has been an era of the breaking of empires. One after another, many colonies have become independent states. Today only vestiges remain of the former great empires of the nineteenth century. And with the passing of those

empires, the political domination of the world by a small handful of imperialist powers is being challenged ever more sharply.

But the process of transformation of the old order of the world, even so far as it has yet proceeded, has not been dependent solely upon the end of colonial rule in countries whose wealth was formerly exploited primarily for world markets.

In Western countries themselves, social forces have arisen to struggle for the release of the mass of the population from the exploitation of the industrial system. The development, from the middle of the nineteenth century, of the trade unions and labour movement, and of the ideals of social justice which inspired them, has left no less a mark upon the world of the twentieth century. The trade union and labour movements have reduced the extortionate use of men's labour all over the world, and have now become accepted in most countries as instruments of social control against such exploitive practices. Development of the ideals of social justice in scientific socialism has led to the appearance of states which have thrown off the capitalist system of production altogether, while in countries still maintaining capitalist methods its influence has led to the rise of the welfare state.

None of these changes have been won without a hard struggle. Trade unions were at first illegal, and won a place for themselves only after a most bitter struggle. Similarly also in the colonies. Independence movements the whole world over have had to struggle with the greatest determination and much sacrifice, often enough even being compelled to take up arms before foreign rule was brought to an end.

Neither has the struggle ended yet, since transformation of the old order of the world is not yet complete.

The First Asian-African Conference in session, Bandung, 1955.





President Sukarno and First Vice-Premier Dr Subandrio greet Ministers assembling in Djakarta to make preparations for the second conference of African and Asian countries seeking solidarity to build a new world.

Men's ideals of social justice are by no means yet put into practice, whether in the states where trade unions and the labour movement, together with similar progressive organisations, try to achieve a system of production without exploitation of man by man, or, at the international level as between states and nations, where the peoples try to release themselves from the domination and exploitation of nation by nation.

It is true that the capitalist system of production has altered in many ways during the past hundred years, but it is notable that trade unions and the labour movement in capitalist countries do not consider that they have achieved their objective of social justice within the nation.

The struggle in the international field to secure real independence is only just gathering momentum. It is not only that colonial domains still exist, but also that the old imperialist forces are now using new tactics in their endeavour to uphold and maintain their old dominance, especially with regard to their economic interests.

The present struggle

It is not unnatural that groups with power and privilege try to maintain their position. That is, indeed, only to be expected, especially when that power and privilege includes the possession of vested interests which have been built up over centuries. And the vested interests in the former colonial possessions of the imperialist powers still, to this very day, make large contributions to their affluence, whilst keeping the local population in a suppressed and impoverished condition.

It is therefore not surprising that, even when political independence has been finally accorded, the imperialist powers try to maintain their vested interests and

whatever other privileges or controls — particularly military might — seem to them necessary for that purpose.

This brings independence in form but not in substance. Sometimes it is effected through subtle means. Often newly-independent states are not aware of how their independence has been sapped — or, at least, they are not at first aware of it, since the achievement of political independence makes them feel that they are masters in their own house.

But what is the meaning of political independence if it is to be but the replacement of foreign rulers by one's own nationals, without any other changes whatsoever? Without exception, to be colonised has meant to be poverty-stricken "natives" — second-class humanity without the power, nor even the right, to obtain an education or the benefits of scientific medicine; without the power or right to work for better economic conditions, let alone prosperity; without the power or right to allocate the use of the nation's natural or developed resources, or in any other way to build the national well-being. Without exception, the struggle for political independence is waged by colonised peoples *in order to gain these benefits,* and not as a mere end in itself.

Throughout the world today, what are known as the "under-developed" countries are precisely those whose resources and man-power were tapped and harnessed to the developing industries of the imperialist powers. Whether they were called "colonies" or "protectorates" or not, their domestic affairs, their very economic activity itself, was directed by outside powers along lines that, whilst serving the economic interests of those powers, contributed nothing to the fundamental development of the subjugated societies, which were isolated from the tremendous advances resulting from the technical knowledge and skills being promoted in the Western world.

It is not possible that sovereign and independent nations will allow a continuation of this situation; once a nation has won its political independence, it is certain that, sooner or later, it will use its political powers to make its independence real and to

African and Asian Delegates to the Meeting of Ministers to prepare for the Second African-Asian Conference spent a Sunday in the mountains, where they were introduced to Indonesian fruits.



secure better conditions for its people, irrespective of the interests of outside powers.

Hence the peoples struggling to release themselves from the domination and exploitation of the old order of imperialism have to face up to the forces of that old order at two different stages of their struggle. One, they have to fight those forces in order to win their political independence. Two, having won their political independence, they have to continue to fight those same forces in order that independence can have meaning and substance in real terms.

It is now becoming increasingly evident that the struggle is most complicated and difficult during this second phase. This is the case partly because, on the one hand, domination and exploitation by the forces of the old order are not then so easily apparent and, on the other, because those forces may also be imbedded in or allied to groups of the national population. But it is also the case because, defeat meaning the end of their vested interests and also of their continued power, the forces of the old established order fight with all and every means at their disposal, nor are they at all averse from using the most unscrupulous of methods.

The forces of imperialism interfere and intervene in the internal affairs of the newly-independent and developing countries in an effort to divert them from their course; they subvert their purposes and sabotage their endeavours in many different ways; they sow division amongst their peoples and they try to set one newly-independent or developing country against the others, in order to prevent them from making a united onslaught upon the old domination and exploitation. And, within this general setting, the foreign military bases of the imperialist powers not only support their interests — under the pretexts of "saving democracy", of "saving the free world from communism", of "protecting the security" of the area — but also serve as centres from which to launch intervention and subversion in the developing countries of the surroundings.

Thus, at almost every step, the newly-independent and developing countries are confronted in their endeavours by the forces of the old established order which, for the sake of maintaining their interests and their power, try to prevent all economic, social, political and even cultural development which they themselves do not institute and control.

This is the situation to be found throughout the world at the present time which is explained and elucidated by the theory of "The New Emerging Forces and the Old Established Order".

Development of this analysis

This description of the world situation was developed by President Sukarno who, since his youth, has been amongst the foremost builders of a body of political thought and theory suited to the specific conditions affecting Indonesia.

It should, perhaps, be mentioned as background that the chief influences upon President Sukarno's thinking have been Indonesian Nationalism, Islam and Marxian historical-materialism, elements of all which colour his approach. In 1926 he began urging that the three streams of Indonesian Nationalism, Religion and Communism could be, and ought to be, united in Indonesia into a single approach; in 1928, he warned of the coming of a gigantic struggle between the imperialist powers in the Pacific Ocean; in 1930, he propounded the doctrine of *Marhaenism,* which is the outcome of the application of Marxism to Indonesian conditions; in 1945, two and a half months before the Proclamation of Independence, he enunciated the indivisible set of five principles called Pantja Sila as the philosophical basis for the forthcoming independent state of Indonesia. His analysis of a world of two camps, wherein the New Emerging Forces confront the Old Established Order has be enformed since the end of 1957.

The immediate origins of this theory were a train of thought aroused by Bertrand Russell's famous open letter to Krushchev and Kennedy in November 1957; this was followed by a public correspondence upon which President Sukarno also commented in an open letter that was published in June 1958. In the Independence Day address of 1958 (on 17th August), President Sukarno commented further as follows:

> "... Bertrand Russell wrote that history recognises two conflicting historic documents which have governed the sentiments and thoughts of the greater part of mankind up to the present time. They are the American Declaration of Independence, written by Thomas Jefferson, and Karl Marx's Communist Manifesto... However, Earl Russel has overlooked one thing. This thing I now draw to the attention of all the Western world. At present the world is under the influence of three potentials, not two. The Nationalism of the Eastern world is the third potential... The nationalism of the Eastern world, that world which is anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist, has many sympathisers among the progressive peoples."

Later on, "pondering this matter deeper", as he has said, President Sukarno corrected this statement, reaching "another conclusion". Various statements made in Indonesia ever since the 1958 address had gradually elucidated the President's thinking. But it was first outlined in concrete form to the international world during the Belgrade Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in September 1961, as follows:

> "Prevailing world opinion today would have us believe that the real source of international tension and strife is ideological conflict between the great Powers. I think that is not true. There is a conflict which cuts deeper into the flesh of man, and that is the conflict between the new emergent forces for freedom and justice and the old forces of domination, the one pushing its head relentlessly through the crust of the earth which has given it its lifeblood, the other striving desperately to retain all it can, trying to hold back the course of history."

From this time on, any discussion of world conditions produced at least some



First Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Dr Subandrio talks to the press in Cairo in October 1964, stressing that peaceful co-existence can not be practised with imperialism and colonialism. Information Minister Achmadi sits to the left of Dr Subandrio.

remarks from Indonesia about the conflict between the New Emerging Forces and the Old Established Order. An outline of the fully developed analysis was given by the President himself in September 1963 to officials preparing for the GANEFO Sports Festival. He said:

> "... the world in the nineteenth century was a world dominated by the forces which I call the Old Established Forces. The system of *exploitation de l'homme par l'homme* raged unchecked in the states or among the nations of Asia-Africa; in Europe itself *exploitation de l'homme par l'homme* rose to a great height as the product of the industrial revolution, or, in popular terms, capitalism in Europe, in America and in other states rose much at that time. The picture of the world in the nineteenth century was like that. In Asia and Africa the picture was that the Asian and African nations were colonised by European countries or states whose capitalism-imperialism was rising. This is the picture of the old world which I call the Old Established Order.
>
> Now, as I said in the book *Indonesia Menggugat,* eventually, of course, there arose reaction to such conditions. National movements arose everywhere; not only in Asia, not only in Africa, but in Europe itself forces arose which opposed the *exploitation de l'homme par l'homme* of that capitalism in Europe. The labour

movement began to rise in Europe; the labour movement in Holland, the labour movement in Britain, the labour movement in Germany, the labour movement in Russia, the labour movement in Poland, the labour movement in Italy, the labour movement in Spain – the labour movement opposed the old order called capitalism that is based upon the *exploitation de l'homme par l'homme*. In Asia and Africa, national movements opposed the imperialism brought by the industrial revolution. Thus, if we look at the world at the beginning of the twentieth century – look at the world as an eagle does – we see that world as an arena of battle between two giant forces: a giant force on one side composed of national movements plus the labour movements in Europe or in America opposing the *exploitation de l'homme par l'homme* in the form of imperialism or capitalism, on the other side a movement to defend themselves against the attacks of these nationalist movements or labour movements. Had we flown in the heavens and looked at the world at the end of the nineteenth century, the beginning of the twentieth century, in fact we could have seen this world divided into two great camps: one force wanting to bring about a new world, a new world without *exploitation de l'homme par l'homme* in it, without imperialism in it, without colonialism in it, without domination in it; and another force wanting to maintain those old conditions. Now this is what on the one side I call the New Emerging Forces, and on the other side the Old Established Forces."

There are also specific descriptions of what is meant by the two terms "New Emerging Forces" and "Old Established Forces". For instance, President Sukarno has said that the New Emerging Forces are:

> "the forces for freedom, the forces for justice, the forces against colonialism, the forces against imperialism, the forces against exploitation, the forces against capitalism",

whilst the Old Established Forces are:

> "the forces of capitalism, of colonialism, the forces of imperialism, the forces of feudalism"

And again:

> "... the New Emerging Forces are not just countries – no! The New Emerging Forces are all forces which seek a new world, which seek the fall of the old world. That is why I say that the New Emerging Forces are, in the first place, the states, the nations of Asia, the nations of Africa, the nations of Latin America – since in Latin America, too, there are now many forces arising which seek a new world – and the progressive forces in Europe, in America and in other continents... if within your breast there burns the fire of the desire to transform this world into a new world that has no imperialism, that has no colonialism, that has no capitalism, you belong to the group of the New Emerging Forces."

Further, in inaugurating the Meeting of Ministers held in April 1964 to prepare for the Second African-Asian Conference, President Sukarno declared:

"For, just as the new forces emerging in the world today are to be found in all countries, so are the supporters of the old established order to be found throughout the world, including in the Asian-African countries which have just won independence . . .
Thus, whilst Western countries belong in general to the old established order, they contain groups of population motivated by the new emerging forces. And, whilst the newly-independent countries of Asia and Africa belong essentially to the new emerging forces — because inevitably they stand opposed to colonialism and imperialism — nevertheless, the old established forces have not yet been entirely eradicated from within their societies."

Application

President Sukarno's analysis has thus developed into a full political theory. That is to say, the analysis which describes and elucidates the world situation, which shows the underlying causes of the tensions and conflicts to be found in all the five continents of the world, is also a guide to political action.

It is probably not incorrect to relate this theory to the ideas shown in President

The Second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in session. President Sukarno delivering the influential address entitled "The Era of Confrontation".



Sukarno's pre-war writing, wherein he subscribes to the Hegelian theory of thesis, antithesis and synthesis — three terms which, on occasions, he still continues to use and to expound.

The theory of conflict between the New Emerging Forces and those of the Old Established Order is not merely a "conflict theory of the world", with one group concerned with mere opposition to the other for the sake of its own interests. It is not a foreign policy, although it is true that Indonesia's foreign policy is at all times applied in the light of this theory. And it is neither a negative nor a static theory. Far from that. It is a dynamic theory of world development, concerned with the interests of all mankind, pointing the course of swift and radical development, and indicating the means whereby that development can be promoted and hastened. It is a theory of activity aimed at building a new order in the world in the shortest possible time and with the least possible suffering. It is a world theory for application both within the nation and among the nations, at both national and international levels.

Both nationally and internationally, application of this theory has both negative and positive aspects, since it is as necessary to eliminate the old forces as it is to foster and build the new, because it is only as the former decline that the latter can build and consolidate.

In the national context, application of the theory of the New Emerging Forces requires that, in the first place, the political domination of the old forces of colonialism and imperialism is brought to an end, for it is only thereafter that the means are available to further remove their domination in the economic and other spheres within the state. Simultaneously, the new forces must be fostered and built, especially with regard to the working out of a nationally-agreed objective that is in harmony with the course of transformation of the world, and also with regard to the fostering of all elements of the national identity which are in keeping with that objective. Without such an objective and without incorporation of the national way of life, the interests of the people are not ensured, nor do the people feel that they are involved. The way would then be open to non-democratic tendencies, and the old story of domination and exploitation would begin again. Generally speaking, a vigorous Nationalist Movement begins both these negative and positive tasks whilst the country is still a colony, but it is necessary that neither is allowed to be terminated once political independence has been achieved.

In the international context, application of the theory of the New Emerging Forces needs the gathering of international strength. It is especially in this context that the international character of the forces of the old order makes its full impact against the rise of the forces fighting to build a new world. At variance from the struggle to gain national independence, where a single colonial power can be seen to be the opponent, the international struggle of the New Emerging Forces implies no less than the complete eradication of the forces of the Old Established Order, so that the way will be cleared to build a new world, a better world, without domination and exploitation of man by man or of nation by nation. Hence, the New Emerging Forces

must also build international solidarity amongst themselves, in as wide a field as possible. Initial steps to this end have been taken for some years past amongst the newly-independent countries of Asia and Africa, notably through the conferences of African-Asian states and peoples, and through the gatherings of the Non-Aligned countries.

Guided by the theory of the New Emerging Forces which fight the Old Established Forces in order to build a new world, Indonesia is convinced that international solidarity of the New Emerging Forces needs to be still further developed. Only thus can these Forces eventually take that co-ordinated and combined action which will be necessary to eradicate the forces of domination and exploitation forever, in order that the societies of men can decide their own well-being in true democracy and real independence.



Toast to Africa and Asia, Djakarta, April 1964.



Monument in Djakarta to honour the heroes amongst the people who fell in defence of the country's independence during the colonial war, 1945—1949. (Miko Surabaya Photo)

NATION BUILDING AND CHARACTER BUILDING TO CONSOLIDATE INDEPENDENCE

National independence can prove to be a mere illusion unless the replacement of foreign rulers by self-government is accompanied by fundamental changes altering the conditions under which the nation lives.

Although this is a simple statement, the truth of which seems obvious enough, it nevertheless refers to a situation which is often over-looked and even sometimes misunderstood, including by the newly-independent countries themselves.

The nationalist movements in the colonised or semi-colonised countries very naturally place the stress of their struggle upon ending foreign rule and setting up a national government, since this is the first requisite of national independence. But the nationalist movements themselves arise only because the colonised peoples demand the end of the conditions of domination and exploitation which are inherent in the colonial system. The colonised peoples want to run their own countries and to work for their own well-being; the end of colonial rule and the formation of a national government are just a means to that end.

Colonialism is a system which binds the economic activities of the colony to the needs of the metropolitan country, which rules the colony in ways suited to that purpose. The colonies and semi-colonies of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries produced agricultural or extractive raw materials which were marketed, mainly to the industrial countries, by the metropolitan powers. Rubber, sisal and other fibres, sugar, tea, coffee and cocoa, copra and vegetable oils, spices, timber, resin and turpentine, rottan and other forest products, petroleum and many different minerals, especially those for industrial purposes – these are all amongst the goods which the colonies produced, often providing the whole of the world's supplies. Very few colonies have possessed developed and mechanised industries, even in a single field and to supply some basic home need, and very many colonies have had no industries at all at any level beyond the handicraft stage. The populations in the colonies have lived at extremely simple, if not brutally primitive levels; labour and land have been kept cheap for the convenience and profit of expatriate concerns; expectation of life has been low; education and medical systems have been non-existent or retarded and limited. More than two thousand million people have lived under such conditions.

It is in reaction against those conditions that the colonised peoples have arisen. Very often, their protest has first taken shape as groups seeking direct alleviation of one or other aspect of human misery or backwardness, developing into the political organisations called nationalist movements only when, events proving that the colonial regime was apathetic or hostile to their cause, people realised that only the end of colonial rule would open the door to opportunity for improvement.

This is precisely what President Sukarno means by calling national independence a "Golden Bridge". In 1945, before Indonesia had proclaimed its independence, he declared: "On the far side of this bridge, this golden bridge, only then shall we be free to build a society of *Indonesia Merdeka* which is self-reliant, strong and healthy, enduring and age-long."

Thus, the independence won by a nation is an instrument for achieving the nation's objectives of improvement. So imprecise a statement of objectives as just "improvement" is, however, hardly an adequate guide to government action.

Naturally, every nation will have certain particular objectives of its own, depending upon its particular conditions, its particular aspirations and ideals. But it can be seen that there are certain basic objectives which will be common to the newly-independent countries because, on the one hand, they have all suffered the same fate of colonisation and, on the other, they seek progress and development under world conditions which are the same for all. These basic objectives will also be common to many of the developing countries that, although they may never have been formally colonised, have had their development arrested or distored through the domination of their affairs by the forces of imperialism.

Because they were formerly colonised, the newly-independent countries today are essentially under-developed economically, with poor and basically underprivileged populations. Probably they also have specific sectors of their economy — those exploited by the former colonising power — more developed and differently oriented than the rest, so that the economy is also lopsided and not in balance. Similar conditions to this may also prevail in the developing countries that have not been colonised, as can be seen, for instance, in Latin America.

More than this, however, has resulted from the specifically colonial condition. The completely artificial structure forced upon colonial society through domination from abroad has various important and far-reaching consequences for the newly-independent countries.

The original social structure will have been distorted in greater or lesser degree by colonial rule, with some groups uprooted and drawn into the social orbit of the colonisers without, however, ever truly belonging to it. The cultural effects amongst the formerly colonised population centre around the loss of values from the indigenous culture, with all the far-reaching implications of that loss. Almost never is there any replacement by new values, whether these emanate from the culture of the metropolitan power or consist of new values produced by the colonised society. Colonialism is far from being conducive of natural social or cultural growth. Twisted values, deformed

mentality and many uprooted personalities result from these things.

It is only to be expected therefore, that the newly-independent countries will have to repair social and cultural damages, and to promote a sound social growth as one of their most pressing needs.

World conditions are, of course, common to all nations, but there is one important aspect which has particular significance for nations just emerging from the domination of the old forces of imperialism and colonialism. This is the struggle against precisely those forces of the old established order, with the objective of building a new world without domination and exploitation of nation by nation and of man by man.

At every move the newly-independent countries make to release themselves more fully from the domination of the old established forces, at every move they make to give greater substance to their national independence, they will inevitably come up against the old order of the world. Since the forces of imperialism and colonialism

Combined military exercises — troops and tanks go into action.



still do their utmost to maintain their privileges, their vested interests, and their former military establishments and other instruments of domination, they continue to hedge in and to surround the newly-independent countries with limitations upon the consolidation and development of their independence.

For the newly-independent and developing countries, there are both negative and positive implications in the combination of these two sets of circumstances — that is, in the combination of the internal consequences of past colonial domination with the consequences, internal and external, of the world conflict between the old established forces and the new emerging forces trying to build a new order.

In the first place, improving the nation's conditions can no longer be achieved through the old means of direct economic development.

It is a fallacy to believe that a country's development today is solely a matter of the accumulation of capital — whether foreign or domestic — the import of techniques, the application of technology, or the conventional practice of training technical cadres for development. Concrete examples in various countries show that, even with abundant capital and technology available over a long period, uneven growth, social instability and antagonism, and chronic under-development persist, and in some cases even worsen. It should be realised, therefore, that the magic formula of capital/technology is a two-edged sword, capable on the one hand of instituting economic change, but just as capable, and far more likely, to subject the society concerned to added difficulties from which it may not be able to escape.

Whether they try to follow the pattern of economic development taken by the industrial countries, or whether they endeavour to institute new methods, the developing countries will inevitably be confronted by the forces of the old established order trying to maintain their "dominant position". Should the developing countries copy the methods and systems used in the old order of the world, those methods and systems will clear the way to the entry of domination and exploitation all over again, even though it might be in a new guise. Should they essay methods and systems of their own conception, these will be diverted and undermined through manipulation, interference and subversion by the forces of the old order, because methods and systems tuned to the new order break the monopoly of dominance.

A second implication from these two sets of conditions is that all endeavours to achieve progress must be kept in line with the current revolutionary transformation overtaking the whole of human society. All change and all development need to run counter to the old forces of domination and exploitation, and need to be directed towards building a new order in the world. If this requirement is not met, it is certain that the change or development attempted will not eventuate, or will be only very short-lived. And not only this. It is also necessary that progress and development be effected through revolutionary, not merely reformist, means. Neither reforms nor the slow growth of evolution can keep pace with the speed of world transformation in this mid-twentieth century setting, and if the speed of external transformation is not paralleled by internal change, the former will surely overtake the latter, sweeping it aside.

It is out of consideration of all these factors that Indonesia has arrived at the conclusion that there are two processes which the newly-independent and developing countries must go through in order to consolidate their national independence and to further it in order to make fundamental changes in the nation's conditions and to create real well-being for their peoples.

These two processes are Nation Building and Character Building.

There are at least three distinct spheres to be distinguished in the activities called nation building — the political, the economic and the cultural. Since the effort to win consolidation of national independence is essentially a political struggle, of necessity at least certain activities within the political sphere need to be given precedence to all else.

The very first requirement is that a national ideology be clearly formulated which is both progressive — in the sense of meeting the needs of this period when a new order is being built in the world in which the domination and exploitation of the old order have been eradicated — and is also nationally acceptable, being based upon a national philosophy, an outlook which the people recognise as their own.

Such an ideology is needed not only to function as a guide, so that the activities of the State are directed constantly towards the national objectives outline in that ideology whilst conforming with the course and tempo of the World Revolution, but also as a central theme around and through which to build and to consolidate national unity.

However, even where, as in Indonesia, a nationalist movement has raised levels of political consciousness and has propagated political principles which are nationally accepted, the formulation of the national ideology may prove to be a turbulent process, during which the world conflict between the old established forces and the new emerging forces is reflected in a bitter struggle within the nation. Experience shows that all borrowings from other cultural patterns need to be moulded into the nation's own character, in order that they truly belong to the nation and are recognised by the people as such. Experience also indicates that, even though this may be a turbulent process, it can be settled peacably, save where external interference turns turbulence into violence.

This first step in nation building ends with the achievement of an ideology that is progressive, that expresses the nation's outlook and identity, and that is accepted through the nation.

In implementing this national ideology, a politically-conscious, strong and undivided national leadership is needed. Without these qualifications, the leadership may be no match for the forces of the old order of domination and exploitation, and may be unable to prevent them from using its weakness to find an avenue of re-entry. This is truly a death-struggle for the forces of the old order of the world, which therefore are vigilant and use every opportunity they can to try to maintain themselves.

Not only will a strong leadership be needed to ensure that the national ideology is

carried out in practice. So persistent are the efforts to maintain themselves, and so devious and unscrupulous are the methods used by the forces of the old established order, that the whole nation must be made conscious of the continuing threat to its independence, must be constantly on the alert, and must make all possible attempts to increase national resistance against those forces. Not only this. It will also be necessary to build up military strength as an instrument of protection.

The developing and newly-independent countries are far from being militaristic. They would infinitely prefer to concentrate their energies — and their expenditures — upon genuinely productive efforts, whether in the cultural and social or in the economic spheres. However, a prerequisite for those activities is the continued existence of their states as such, and today the forces of the old established order are progressively threatening the very states of the newly-independent and developing countries.

Those forces interfere in the internal affairs of these countries — as can be seen, for instance, in the Congo and in South Viet-Nam — and they use their foreign military bases — such as Aden, Singapore and Taiwan, for example — as strongholds from which to conduct subversion and military intervention, and to foment and to support rebellion in the neighbouring developing countries. Further, with the extension and consolidation of national independence, the forces of imperialism are today adding to and strengthening their overseas bases. It cannot be expected, therefore, that the threats to the newly-independent countries coming from the military bases of the

Men who have volunteered for all-purpose service in strengthening the resistance of the Indonesian Revolution and in helping the North Kalimantan freedom-fighters.



imperialist powers that now surround them, will decrease in the near future.

These are the reasons why the newly-independent countries are compelled to build their military strength to such a level as will ensure protection for their respective states.

In the economic sphere, nation building requires in the first place the laying of foundations for a new economic structure from which domination by the forces of the old order has been removed together with the exploitation of man by man. This implies not only removal of the colonial structure of the economy and its replacement by a structure that is designed to meet that nation's own needs and that is truly national in character and scope. It also means eradication of economic procedures and institutions which perpetuate domination and exploitation, and their replacement by entirely new procedures and institutions conforming in both principle and practice with the needs of the new world order of independence and social justice that is being built.

These things are, indeed, very difficult to accomplish, especially because the forces of the old order have to be confronted at every more. It is easy enough to make laws in a newly-independent state designed to bring the economy under national control, but, while expatriate firms established during colonial times still continue to do business as formerly, it is often impossible to have those laws carried out. Sometimes the only way to eradicate the old domination is to nationalise those concerns. And even then, it is not uncommon for economic and financial interference and manipulation to be continued through sabotage and subversion and through the exercise of "pressure", the organising of blockades, smuggling and other unscrupulous practices from outside the country.

It seems highly likely that the only way to obtain a sound foundation for an entirely new economic pattern within the national state is through developing self-sufficiency and self-reliance in all economic endeavours. In the international field, the co-operation recently achieved by the seventy-seven developing countries which attended the Geneva Conference on Trade and Development points to the means to be employed to break down the "dominant position" occupied up to today by the economic and financial institutions of the old order of the world.

Building the nation in the cultural sphere means especially strengthening the national identity, that is, developing the characteristic attitudes, values and ways which distinguish a particular nation and mark it out from all others. In view of the retarded and possibly distorted condition of the culture of countries just released from colonialism, considerable attention should be paid to its re-vitalisation, since a nation denuded of its culture will always be spiritually weak, if not unbalanced. The indigenous culture needs to be cherished and fostered, whilst its growth should be promoted by all means possible until it becomes again a living factor in the state and a part of the every-day life of the population.

The borrowings from other cultures which are an inevitable and probably necessary part of cultural growth, need to be incorporated in the national culture and to be

moulded to fit the national identity. The ideas and techniques developed by other peoples may be of the greatest value to a nation — as is clearly to be seen from the borrowings in the very rich Indonesian cultural heritage, for instance — but if such borrowings are not brought into harmony with what is inherited and with the nation's modern aspirations and needs, they will remain extraneous and will always seem alien and unacceptable to the people.

It is important to see that the nation's own way of life is preserved, so that it does not fall into the habit of simply copying other nations. Copying others is not only a tendency that may facilitate the return of domination, but, since the diversity of human societies has much to do with Man's versatility and his development to the fullest possible stature, it must therefore be cherished and fostered along with the national culture to which it is related.

In these cultural fields, nation building encourages self-respect and builds self-confidence amongst people who are likely to be lacking in these qualities from the effects of long colonial rule.

Fundamentally, the process of Character Building is directed towards the "revolution in Man himself", as President Sukarno has put it, towards the development of personalities fit to be citizens of the new order in the world.

Just as the struggles for national independence are playing a leading role in the struggle of the new emerging forces against the forces of the old established order, so will the human qualities which contribute so much to the release of nations from colonial domination and exploitation play a leading role in the continuation of the world struggle.

Without exception, the nationalist movements arising in colonial possessions are marked not only by their political and social consciousness but also by the member's personal integrity, nobility of character and willingness to make sacrifices for the sake of ideals. It has often been the case that these qualities of moral militancy have been almost the only assets which the nationalist movements have possessed; essentially, it has been nobility of soul, integrity of character, moral militancy and revolutionary elan — spiritual values, in short — which have brought them to success.

Such qualities as these are needed today in the continuing struggle to create a new order in the world. Those qualities will perhaps be required in even higher degree than formerly since it may be that the last of the struggle against the forces of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism will be even more severe than the early stages which have been successfully concluded. Political and social consciousness, patriotism and integrity, militancy and the willingness to make the utmost sacrifices — these are the virtues which the newly-independent states must endeavour to instill into their populations, since it is certain that the struggle ahead will be won, as was its early stages, by the Spirit of Man, and not just through the possession of material equipment and technology.

Whilst populations recently released from colonial domination may be inclined

to a feeling of inferiority and to a lack of self-confidence, so that their initiative is impaired, especially are intellectual initiative and mental self-confidence necessary for the future. The newly-independent and developing countries must be able to formulate and to develop entirely new concepts for political, social and economic institutions and organisation since these are essential for building a new order in the world. In order to foster self-respect and build self-confidence, the newly-independent and developing nations must take care to display the skills and competence of their peoples in the present as well as pointing to past greatness.

It is only by such means as these that the social and cultural demages inflicted by the domination and exploitation of the past can be finally eradicated. And it is only when the distortions caused by that domination and exploitation have been removed that it is possible to promote social and cultural growth that harmonize both with the national identity and the need of this time of world transformation.

It is a fact that the struggles for national independence are part of the struggle of the new emerging forces to build a new world without domination and exploitation



Indonesia's painters, writers, musicians, dancers and other artists have contributed much to nation building and character building in the cultural sphere. These painters are working on a large poster outside the Department of Foreign Affairs in connection with the Pantja Sila Anniversary, 1964.
(Dept. Foreign Affairs Photo)

of nation by nation and of man by man. And it is a fact that the determining factor in winning progress in the twentieth century is the successful outcome of that world struggle and the building of a new order in the world.

Hence, the countries which intend national independence to be more than a mere change of government from foreign to national hands, the countries which want to further their national independence and build a new order, are faced by two simultaneous tasks: to cure their own populations of colonial ills and to remove colonial domination and exploitation from their social, political and economic structures, and, secondly, to fight the domination and exploitation by the forces of the old established order from outside their national boundaries.

Once national independence has been achieved, nation building and character building are the means whereby each nation individually can continue the struggle in the national sphere, whilst the building of solidarity between all the new emerging forces is the means whereby the struggle can be continued in the international sphere.



President Sukarno delivering the 1964 Independence Day address. On the platform with him were Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia, Madam Sihanouk and General Kim Pyung Hwa, representative of Premier Kim Il Sung of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.



THE SECOND AFRICAN-ASIAN CONFERENCE

Africa and Asia are once more making a concerted drive to reach their common objective of real independence and lasting well-being for their peoples, in a new world of peace and social justice freed from colonialism and imperialism. Coming together for this purpose for the first time in the Asian-African Conference in 1955, they now take hold of their problems with a firmer grasp as they prepare for the Second African-Asian Conference to be held in Algeria in March 1965.

The Bandung Conference of 1955 had recommended a further meeting, but many different circumstances had favoured the taking of initial steps to this end only in April, 1964.

"This our common struggle is not ended yet," wrote Indonesia in extending invitations to a meeting of Asian-African Ministers in Djakarta to make preparations for this Second Conference. And the invitation continued:

> "Not only are there still parts of Asia and Africa in colonial bondage, for whose national freedom we all have to fight, but, if we look at the Bandung resolutions carefully, the national and international aspirations of Asian-African peoples are more than merely achieving their national freedom and independence."

It was in response to this invitation that Ministerial representatives from twenty-two countries met in Djakarta from 10th to 15th April, 1964. Afghanistan, Algeria, Cambodia, Cameroons, Ceylon, China, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Liberia, Morocco, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Syria, Tanganyika, Turkey and the United Arab Republic all sent delegations. The total population of these countries exceeds 1500 million people; they have a tremendous wealth of natural resources and their states have a very wide range of political, economic and social systems.

Diversity, however, has been a common phenomenon of both African and Asian societies since very early times, and it is therefore natural that Asian and African nations today are not afraid of differing from one another. On the contrary, diversity is viewed as a God-given opportunity for exchange, in order that the societies of men can grow, benefitting from one another's experiences.

It was this approach which had been one of the bases for the success of the Bandung Conference, and it was the same approach that inspired the Meeting of

The lobby of the conference hall; Delegates gathering in April 1964 to prepare for the Second African-Asian Conference.



President Sukarno leaving the conference hall, having delivered the Opening Address to the First Asian-African Conference, Bandung, April 1955.

Ministers as the delegations deliberated, and found common ground and brotherly solidarity in their common attitude to the fundamentals of their national existence — the struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

Although the task of this Meeting was merely to prepare for a Second African-Asian Conference, discussion of agenda items inevitably led to discussion of aspects of common problems, and hence political issues were often dealt with. The great cordiality of the sittings once more vindicated the procedure of *mushawarah* — deliberations aimed at reaching a consensus — and served to consolidate the Bandung Spirit and to strengthen African-Asian solidarity.

It is especially in this connection that the success lies of this Meeting of Ministers, which history may yet show to have been one of the most important gatherings to

build Asian-African solidarity for the sake of the progress of Asian-African nations and the well-being of the whole of mankind.

Indeed, the sense of solidarity which, arising during the Bandung Conference in 1955, has since been a constant inspiration and guide to common action among the Asian and African nations, needs now to be further developed. A mere sense of solidarity, a feeling of common cause amongst the African and Asian nations is not enough at this present stage of international developments. The reality, the substance of solidarity, must be developed among the African and Asian nations if they are to consolidate their achievements in gaining national independence, and not to stagnate, then to slip backwards into a similar condition of subjection to external domination and exploitation to that from which they have just emerged.

The old imperialist and colonialist forces of domination and exploitation are by no means dead yet. On the contrary, precisely because they are being challenged ever more strongly, they resist ever more fiercely, stopping at nothing in their effort to maintain themselves and to protect their interests.

Imperialism and colonialism are not the characteristics of some particular nation; they are systems used by many different nations. In fighting for their national independence, the nations of Africa and Asia have struggled against British, Dutch, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Belgian, German and other systems of imperialism and colonialism which once subjugated them alike, and similarly exploited their peoples. In the face of the mounting challenge to their very existence, the forces underlying those systems combine across national boundaries and appear clearly as international, or more correctly, supra-national, in character. Today, it is these supra-national forces of the old established order of the world which the African and Asian nations have to face in their further struggle to consolidate their national independence.

Delegates and press prepare for the Opening Session of the Meeting of Ministers to prepare for the Second African-Asian Conference, Djakarta, April 1964.



And these supra-national forces are today using new devices and new tactics in their efforts to maintain their interests.

In a number of cases, the old colonial forces, in an effort to forestall the rising forces of independence, have "voluntarily" granted national independence, often to "federations" of their own making, but under such circumstances that they continue to hold, to control and to dominate the substance of independence: the right and the power to build the nation and its political, economic and social systems without reference to foreign interests. This is nothing but colonialism in disguise; this is neo-colonialism.

In the newly-independent countries, the forces of imperialism interfere and intervene in their internal affairs. Through "getting around" regulations, through smuggling and other illegal practices the forces of imperialism sabotage the endeavours of newly-independent and developing countries to build national economics. Even through the directions and "guidance" of their experts in the newly-independent and developing countries, the forces of exploitation try to secure conditions advantageous to their interests and favourable to their concealed domination and control. Through the instigation and support of break-aways and rebellions, as well as through their efforts to create economic havoc, the forces of imperialism and colonialism try to divert the course of states challenging their effective control. Through subversion and through international propaganda campaigns blackening the political principles and leaders of the newly-independent countries, the forces of the old order of the world try to overthrow governments of the newly-independent and developing countries and to bring them into international disrepute. They sow division, diversion and deviation among the newly-independent and developing countries in order to prevent them from uniting against the old established forces. Through manipulating the world economic and financial machinery which they dominate, the old established forces try to secure the downfall, or at least to postpone the progress, of the developing countries, especially if such countries openly challenge their domination. And, whenever circumstances permit, they use naked force to protect their interests and to maintain their dominance; they do not shrink from the assassin's knife, they do not hesitate to use the most terrible of tortures or the most brutal of massacres, nor do they scruple at hiding in the skirts of international humanitarian organisations or at cloaking their self-seeking moves under the guise of United Nations peace-making activities.

This is the nature of the struggle which the countries of Asia and Africa face today. By its nature, it is essentially a political struggle. The gathering of strenght and power, the building of solidarity, the development of co-ordination — these are political matters. Nor can the forces of the old established order be defeated other than in the political field.

"Let us be under no illusion that a "moral obligation" and "humanitarian feelings" will even force them to retreat from their favourable position," said President Sukarno. And, in this connection, it is worth remembering that the campaign against slavery was successful not just because of humanitarian feelings and moral obligations,



Delegates in session, Second Non-Aligned Countries Conference, Cairo, October 1964.
The Indonesian Delegation is on the right, nearest the camera beside the aisle.

but primarily because capitalist forces able to draw upon the labour of colonies, hoped through eradicating slavery to damage or destroy other capitalist forces drawing upon slave labour.

Neither can the Asian-African countries hope to defeat the forces of the old order through economic or military competition. The technological progress of the industrial countries, which are the homes of the forces of the old order, is too far advanced for the Asian and African countries even to catch up with, let alone to out-compete, in a number of years. Nor, as a matter of principle, do the African-Asian nations wish to enter the arms race or to try for economic mastery over other countries. Even within the confines of their own states, the newly-independent and developing countries can deal with the problem of external economic domination only by political means — they are still too weak economically even to balance the external economic pressures.



One of the committees of the Meeting of Ministers to prepare for the Second African-Asian Conference.

The African and Asian nations must therefore gather the strength they have at their disposal — the tremendous political power of more than 1500 million people — to face the forces of imperialism and colonialism which still combine against them, and against all who strive to overthrow the forces of domination and exploitation.

Because their own existence as independent states has depended upon the fact that the nations of Asia and Africa are opposed to imperialism and colonialism, no matter what the form, it is inevitable that the Asian and African countries stand in the forefront of this struggle. Hence it falls upon their shoulders to form a hard core of resistance, developing their solidarity and growing towards one another, exchanging opinions and experiences to help in the solution of their domestic problems, going out to meet one another half-way in all their contacts and relationships that the substance of solidarity can materialise. With their willingness to help one another and their sense of collectivity, with their proved methods of deliberation aimed at reaching consensus to determine their common course of action, and with their growing ability to produce entirely new concepts for political, economic and social life, the nations of Asia and Africa have, in fact, many qualifications for the role which history has laid upon them, and many advantages for developing the substance of solidarity which that role requires.

But the nations of Asia and Africa are by no means alone in the struggle to eradicate the forces of imperialism and colonialism. Especially the developing countries of Latin America, living under constant threat of economic domination, or constantly confined in their activities because of the presence of existing domination and exploitation, can be seen today plainly to be striving to alter this condition. There are already many forces arising in Latin America whose cause is identical with that of the African-Asian nations: the elimination of the forces of the old established order of the world.

Beyond these groups, too, there also lie others, concentrated in the socialist states and scattered everywhere throughout the whole world which have long opposed the forces of domination and exploitation in capitalism, in imperialism, in colonialism and neo-colonialism. It is certain that, before the old established order can be finally eliminated forever, all these forces must make common cause, must combine their strengths and co-ordinate their activities.

These are the reasons why Indonesia, although recognising the important role of the African and Asian nations, and hence supporting to the utmost the African-Asian Conferences, has long advocated a gathering which would also incorporate the countries of Latin America. And today Indonesia looks forward to the time when it will be possible to organise a great gathering of CONEFO — the Conference of all the New Emerging Forces in the World.





President Sukarno of Indonesia, President Macapagal of the Philippines and Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman of Malaya at the closing ceremony of the tripartite Summit on 5 August 1963 at which the Manila Agreements were signed.

(Philippines Photo)

BRITISH-MADE "MALAYSIA" — BARRIER TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND PROGRESS

Winston Churchill once remarked that he did not become British Prime Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire.

Whether he spoke only for himself or not, Churchill was expressing to a nicety the sentiments of the Old Established Forces which built the British and other modern empires. Those forces, however, do not rely upon mere words. They act, taking whatever measures seem best assured to maintain their interests and, as far as possible, to maintain the old order in the world, even though it may have to take on a new guise.

The measures taken in South-East Asia to try to secure the old established order of British domination have produced the so-called "Federation of Malaysia".

"Malaysia" is an artificial federation of the British colonial possessions of Malaya, Singapore, Serawak and Sabah (North Borneo). It did not arise out of a free association at the will of the people concerned, but was imposed by the British colonial authorities in connivance with the yes-men in the Kuala Lumpur regime whom the British had installed beforehand.

"Malaysia" is but British colonialism in new form, established in order to protect and to maintain British political, economic and military interests. In pursuance of this objective, not only does British-made "Malaysia" neglect and suppress the interests of the people subjected to its rule; it also attempts to subvert, to deflect from its course and to contain the Indonesian Revolution, because that Revolution is pledged to the complete and final eradication of colonial and imperial domination.

These are the reasons why the people of North Kalimantan set up an independent state of their own. These are the reasons why various groups in Malaya and Singapore oppose the present Kuala Lumpur regime. These are the reasons why the Republic of Indonesia is conducting a policy of confrontation against the neo-colonialism of "Malaysia".

And this, in a nut-shell, is the "Malaysia" problem.

It is not a dispute between two sovereign and independent states. It is a struggle against the domination and exploitation which British neo-colonialism exercises against the peoples of Malaya, Singapore and North Kalimantan. It is a struggle

against the interference, intervention, sabotage and subversion which British neo-colonialism exerts against the Indonesian State and Revolution.

This problem of "Malaysia" is disturbing the South-East Asia region, where colonialism and imperialism have been fighting to maintain their interests in country after country. "Malaysia" is but the latest device of many, and it is directed against Indonesia.

The forces of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism have been inflicting many sufferings upon the people of the whole region. And now the neo-colonialism of "Malaysia" has brought a situation that threatens to erupt at any time into a conflict of much greatest proportions, the forerunner of a world conflagration.

SURVEY OF EVENTS

A Process of "Decolonisation"

At the time of Churchill's dictum, it had already become evident that, even if the British Empire was not to be completely liquidated, it would at least suffer radical change. Imperialism and colonialism were being challenged throughout the world, and Britain's "imperial life-line" was being cut.

And so the forces of imperialism searched for new tactics. Amidst the rising tide of nationalism that swept through Asia and Africa, everywhere giving birth to national independence, they devised new and subtler forms in order that political independence need not mean the end of their interests, their power and their privileges which they had established during the colonial period. Since they were unable to stem the universal demand for decolonisation, neo-colonialism was their answer, often falsely and cynically using just that banner of "decolonisation" to conceal their actual imperialist aims.

Indonesia was given reason to believe that some such neo-colonialist attempt was afoot in South-East Asia. Not so long after the end of the colonial war, when Indonesia was beginning to take a place in international affairs, a senior British diplomat, stationed in South-East Asia, suggested that the Republic of Indonesia join the British Commonwealth to make an "anti-communist bridge" against the rising forces in Asia.

From this time forward, Indonesia watched with heightened interest the developments leading towards independence in the British colonial territories bordering upon the Republic — Malaya, Singapore, Serawak, Brunei and Sabah (which was then still better known as British North Borneo).

There had been no pre-war nationalist movements in those territories, such as was active against British colonialism in India, for instance. In the immediate post-war

period there was the "Emergency" in Malaya, which the forces of the old order tried to show as being simply "the suppression of communism", but which, in reality, gave them an opportunity to suppress, in the process, the rise if genuine nationalism. It was evident, however, that the political and social consciousness of the Malayan peoples was gradually awakening. And even when, in 1957, the Malay States became the independent Federation of Malaya, yet made no move to use political independence to secure economic, social and cultural emancipation, it was, nevertheless, still plain that there were certain groups of the people who, becoming increasingly organised, were moving towards this end.

Indonesia had no difficulty in understanding that it takes time for a country to turn to utilising its political independence in order to be truly free of foreign domination and exploitation in the deeper sense.

With Malaya independent, the colonial power could hardly deny similar freedom to Singapore for long. There was talk of simply merging Singapore with Malaya in one state. The idea of a merger, however, although it was enthusiastically greeted by Singapore, met with objections from Kuala Lumpur, and especially from Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman. The merger would mean that the Chinese settlers and immigrants would be more than half the combined population of the new state, and it was maintained that this would upset the voting balance between the indigenous peoples and the Chinese, in favour of the latter. Another reason for the Tunku's reluctance to accept Singapore as a full partner was said to be his fears of the growing strength of genuine socialism amongst Singapore's trade unionists, who might become an electoral opponent that the Tunku's feudalistic conservatism would find it hard to beat.

It was at this stage that the idea was launched of a federation of all British colonies in the region, plus Brunei, which was a British protectorate. On 27th May, 1961, Tunku Abdul Rahman, Prime Minister of Malaya, was given the privilege of publishing the idea in a speech he delivered to the Singapore Foreign Correspondents Association. But it was clear all along that the idea emanated from the British Colonial Office.

It seemed patent enough to Indonesia that the old established forces were at work in all of this. But that was not unexpected. In fact, as far back as 1952, the then British High Commissioner in Singapore, Malcolm Macdonald, when on a visit to Indonesia, put up the idea, as has been indicated above, as a straw to test the wind. Neo-colonialism was certainly at work. But the real question was, how did the peoples of these territories view this scheme?

Indonesia knew that there were appreciable groups at least of Malayans and Singaporese who were aware of what was happening. These groups could well have calculated the risks and have decided that the suggested course was acceptable.

This is why Indonesian leaders stated on several occasions at this time that, if the Malaysia federation were what the people of the territories wanted, then Indonesia had no objections. "We have no objections to such a merger based upon the will for

freedom of the peoples concerned", Foreign Minister Subandrio told the United Nations General Assembly on 20th November 1961.

Events proved, however, that it was NOT what the people themselves wanted.

In the North Kalimantan territories, the British had recently set up limited-function and limited franchise legislative bodies, amongst whose members considerable discussion of the Malaysia project took place, the more so because a British Commission (under Lord Cobbold) sent to Serawak and Sabah to make feelers about the scheme had reached very inconclusive findings. Then the Legislative Assembly of Brunei tried on three occasions to discuss an anti-Malaysia motion, but the British Resident Commissioner disallowed any resolution on the grounds that it was beyond the competence of the Assembly. Further, Tunku Abdul Rahman had been asked by North Kalimantan leaders not to go ahead with discussion of plans with Britain until North Kalimantan had first become independent. When the Tunku ignored this request and actually reached preliminary agreement with the British, open revolt broke out.

The free and independent State of North Kalimantan was proclaimed on 8th December 1962, under the leadership of Azahari, Chairman of Partai Ra'yat, the majority party in the Brunei Legislative Assembly. Uprisings took place in Brunei, Serawak and Sabah.

There were now at work two processes of decolonisation in the British colonial territories bordering Indonesia. On the one hand, there was a move from the old colonial power to build yet another artificial "federation", with the usual reservation of the old positions of privilege for that power and its nationals, and the usual perpetuation of the colonial institutions and military bases. On the other hand, a genuine nationalist movement had arisen, proclaiming an independent state, possessing a government of its own and with a population prepared to defend it with their lives.

Inevitably, these two processes clashed against each other. There would be trouble in these neighbouring territories until only one remained. Indonesia, which had already been drawn into public statements over the suggested merger, had to make a choice between the two procedures.

The Struggle to Prevent the Imposition of British-Made "Malaysia"

In unequivocal terms, and within a matter of days after the proclamation of the Unitary State, Indonesia made known its support for the freedom-fighters of North Kalimantan. A struggle genuinely arising from the people is certainly a preferable path to national independence than the imposition of "decolonisation" by a "departing" colonial power. Moreover, consistence with Indonesia's constitutionally-declared policy of anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism and support for all nationalist liberation movements in the world, required this choice.

The British colonial authorities on the spot, however, took a different view. They instituted harsh suppressive measures against the rebels, and part of the uprising was put down. Thousands were arrested, so that schools had to be commandeered as places of detention. There was left, however, a hard core of resistance that, taking to the guerrilla tactics of people's war, has spread all over North Kalimantan. The freedom-fighters asked for help, and Indonesia acceded to their requests for training. The British brought in more troops, with the usual mercenaries of British colonial forces well to the fore. But, as the guerrillas are supported to an increasing extent by the people, the British commanders themselves have already been compelled to admit that what is needed is a political solution, because settlement by force is not possible.

Events have certainly proved that opposition to British-made "Malaysia" goes much further than this people's uprising in North Kalimantan. But the leadership of Malaya was not disposed to be receptive to protests. Far from listening to the call for independence before deciding upon a form of federation between the former British colonies, Tunku Abdul Rahman and his group condemned the proclamation in North Kalimantan as running contrary to their interests. They not only condoned, but themselves assisted the attempt to put the rising down by force, and they initiated raids and arrests and the suppression of political opposition. In Malaya itself, 80 persons were arrested for declaring their support for the North Kalimantan revolt, including the leader of the Parliamentary Opposition, while in Singapore, over 100 members of the Socialist Front were arrested.

In February 1963, the arrangements made with Britain for institution of the neo-colonialist project were published. This "Malaysia" of British plan was to be set up in six months' time – at the end of August 1963; British interests, especially the British military establishments and powers, were to be preserved. Opposition came immediately from seven political parties in Malaya, Singapore and North Kalimantan, as well as from an increasing number of individuals, and another wave of arrests and detentions began.

Tunku Abdul Rahman condemned Indonesia, and especially President Sukarno, for declaring sympathy and support for the North Kalimantan struggle. Official statements from Kuala Lumpur displayed increasing hostility towards Indonesia and wordy attacks were made upon Indonesia's leaders and policies. British aircraft began to invade Indonesia's airspace, and the British colonial police began to show open enmity towards Indonesia all along the Kalimantan borders. Indonesia strengthened her border patrols in response, and publicized the anti-colonial basis for her stand.

Unfortunately, it seems the Tunku could not see that Malaysia as projected – the brainchild of London – stood to the advantage of the old colonial power and bore no relation to the will or the welfare of the people. Indeed, it can be seen that the Malayan leaders cannot deal with the wiles of colonialism and imperialism. They have never been schooled by the trials of a hard struggle for independence to recognise the difference in political and economic significance between "decolonisation" insti-



Indonesian Youth demonstrate against "Malaysia" in a march through the streets of the capital.

tuted by the colonising power and independence won by a politically-conscious nationalist movement.

Meanwhile, the Philippines was making efforts to bring Malayan and Indonesian leaders together to try to reach a settlement within the framework of President Macapagal's idea for closer co-operation between the peoples of common racial stock in the South-East Asia region. Because of the Philippines' historical claim to Sabah, which had already been lodged with the British, the Philippines was also an interested party in the projected "Malaysia Federation", which made no allowance whatsoever for that claim.

Taking up the Philippines' initiative, a sub-ministerial meeting between Indonesia, Malaya and the Philippines was held in Manila between 9th and 17th April 1963. This was a wide-ranging prospecting of the ground, to try to find possible areas of fruitful co-operation in social and economic development, as well as in common responsibility for the stability and security of the region as a whole. The results of this gathering pointed to the usefulness of continuing the talks at higher level.

At the end of May 1963, President Sukarno paid a private visit to Tokyo, and Tunku Abdul Rahman went there to meet him. In spite of the earlier "war of words" between the two leaders, not only were they able to meet in amity and good fellowship, but they were also able to find common ground. The Tunku admitted to President Sukarno that his objective in the projected "Federation of Malaysia" was to ensure that the Chinese population would be out-voted by the Malayans; he expressed his willingness to discuss the Malaysia question in particular and the problems of the region in general with Presidents Sukarno and Macapagal with a view to reaching solutions that would be more beneficial to the continued stability of the South-East



Philippine Youth display some of the pro-Maphilindo, anti-"Malaysia" posters they bore in a Manila demonstration. (A.P. Photo)

Asia region and more conducive of real progress to all the peoples concerned.

With tension thus relieved, the tripartite conference of Foreign Ministers was able to open a few days later in Manila. At its conclusion on 11th June 1963, the Ministers announced that they had discussed the "Maphilindo" confederation suggested by the Philippines, that they had reached common understanding of how to resolve problems of common concern arising out of the project "Malaysia" and that they had agreed that their three countries, being sovereign and independent states with all the responsibilities as well as the rights pertaining to that status, were the ones primarily responsible for the stability and security of the area.

These decisions were to go forward to a Summit Meeting to be held before the end of July 1963. And so it seemed that, before the British-made Malaysia project was instituted, some arrangements could be made between the three countries to secure their peoples against neo-colonialist designs, and that the Philippine suggestion for a Mushawarah Maphilindo (Malaya-Philippines-Indonesia Consultations) might become a useful channel for this and other common endeavours.

But at this point there came the first of a series of proofs as to how un-free an agent Tunku Abdul Rahman really is.

At a meeting in London between officials of the Colonial Office with representatives from Malaya and the regimes in Singapore, Serawak, Sabah and Brunei, the "Agreement Relating to Malaysia" was signed, with only Brunei deciding not to participate – for the sake of its wealthy oil revenues. Notwithstanding Tunku Abdul Rahman's promises to President Sukarno in Tokyo and the arrangements so recently entered into during the two tripartite meetings in Manila, the Agreement provided

for the imposition upon the peoples of the area of the British concept of Malaysia, without any alteration to the scheme at all, and with the additional proviso about the military establishments and facilities that the United Kingdom government have the right to decide how to use them not only for "assisting in the defence of Malaysia", but also for "Commonwealth defence and for the preservation of peace in South-East Asia".

Within the following week, thirty-six Singapore trade unions issued a statement that they did not recognise this "Agreement", while two Malayan political parties protested against postponement of the sitting of the Malayan Parliament to discuss the Malayan question.

Indeed, no matter how much the Tunku might protest that he had broken no undertakings at all, this Agreement made nonsense out of earlier hopes for what the Summit might accomplish. But, nevertheless, an attempt was made to pick up the threads of the Ministerial Meeting.

In spite of the great handicaps, it again proved possible for the three leaders to agree upon a method that might lead to a solution. The United Nations Secretary-General was requested to make a fresh approach to the question of the decolonisation process in North Kalimantan, as provided for in General Assembly Resolution 1541 (XV), and to ascertain the wishes of the people there with regard to the projected Malaysia. Tunku Abdul Rahman not only expressed his willingness to abide by the outcome of such an investigation by the United Nations Secretary-General; he also agreed to use his best endeavours to secure British co-operation and provision of facilities for the task of ascertainment as envisaged by the three leaders and as laid down in the Manila Agreements.

Naturally enough, none of these endeavours to try to remove neo-colonialist elements from the Malaysia project had found favour with the old established forces which, in the usual way, operated through the colonial authorities. Time after time, British authorities interfered in the course of the negotiations, either through the diplomatic officers on the spot during the tripartite meetings in Manila, or through the colonial officials in Kuala Lumpur once the delegations had returned home. It became clear enough that the British colonial authorities had no intention of giving up their real power, "Federation of Malaysia" or no. The question was only whether the Malayan officials in Kuala Lumpur would be able to withstand British pressures, or, indeed, whether they would understand all the implications and so be willing to resist. In the event, it seems they did not resist and, in fact, they did not withstand the British.

Far from according their co-operation in implementing the Manila Agreements reached by the Summit, the British sabotaged them as far as was possible. The United Nations team was enabled to cover only approximately the same ground as that covered earlier by the enquiry by the British Cobbold Commission; often the very same groups were interviewed all over again; only two weeks was spent in Serawak and Sabah instead of the Commission's two months; there was even more atmosphere of intimid-

ation than at the time of the Commission whose findings had been far from conclusive.

This was NOT a "fresh approach" at all, but an even more cursory recourse to the same machinery of colonial administration, with many of the opponents of the Malaysia project now safely out of the way under detention, or fled to areas where the freedom-fighters and not the colonial authorities were in power.

Then again, the teams of Philippine and Indonesian observers which, it had been agreed in Manila, were to follow proceedings as the United Nations "ascertainment of the people's wishes" went on, were so obstructed by the British authorities, that they were able to be present for only 5 days out of the 14 that the United Nations team was in the field.

And, when the United Nations team was only half-way through its work, and the Philippine and Indonesian observers not yet on the spot, there came an announcement from Kuala Lumpur where the British Minister for Colonial Affairs, Duncan Sandys, had been visiting:

> No matter what the results produced by the United Nations, the "Federation of Malaysia" would be set up on 16th September 1963.

Britain's Minister for the Colonies was thus shown to have the power to tell the Prime Minister of "independent" Malaya what he was to do. No matter how sincere the Tunku may have been in declaring on his return to Kuala Lumpur from Manila that the date for the establishment of Malaysia had been "made flexible", and even that it would not be established at all if the United Nations findings were adverse, it was evident that, vis-a-vis the British, the Tunku was not an independent agent.

British-Made "Malaysia" Established

And it came to pass as Duncan Sandys had said. On 16th September 1963, the British-made "Federation of Malaysia" was established over the heads of the people of Malaya, Singapore, Serawak and Sabah, more and more of whom were opposing it.

This not only defied the United Nations. It once more shattered good relations between Indonesia, the Philippines and Malaya. Not only had the United Nations team NOT taken a fresh approach towards ascertaining the wishes of the people concerned over the decolonisation process proposed by Britain and the Kuala Lumpur regime for them, but Britain had once more given clear proof that it was Britain's will, and no one else's, which counted in this matter. And by acquiescing in the setting up of the British project as planned in London, Tunku Abdul Rahman had flagrantly violated the Manila Agreements.

These circumstances add up to a typical display of the arrogance of imperialism and colonialism. Not only were Indonesia and the Philippines treated to the contempt so generally shown the new emerging forces by the forces of the old established order, but the latter showed once more that they regarded the United Nations as



Tun Razak, Ambassador Lopez (on the left) and Thanat Khoman (on the right) with Dr Subandrio during the first Bangkok gathering, February 1964. (A.P. Photo)

of little real importance and to be allowed no more right of action than suited their purpose. The sincere efforts of newly-independent nations to arrange their own affairs in amity together and to undertake jointly the responsibility for their own region that independence implies, were arrogantly sabotaged and contemptuously thurst aside because those arrangements were not to the liking of a colonial power that was pretending to give up control in the region.

Most regrettably, some misguided nationals of the "decolonised" country had played a role in these acts of arrogance, having, wittingly or unwittingly, become amenable yes-men of the old forces of colonialism and imperialism which continued their domination and exploitation in the neo-colonial organisation of the former colony.

Indonesia and the Philippines were not prepared to accept the report of the United Nations team so made, nor were they prepared to recognise the "Malaysia" so made and so imposed. It was precisely this British make and this imposition by the colonial power which they had opposed as neo-colonialism from the start.

Protest demonstrations took place on a wide scale on 16th September. On 17th September the Kuala Lumpur regime severed diplomatic relations with both Indonesia and the Philippines, and stirred up especially anti-Indonesian feeling; that same day the Indonesian Embassy in Kuala Lumpur was set on fire and ransacked. The British Embassy in Djakarta was burnt out on 18th September, and in it documented evidence

was found that the "Malaysia" project was indeed aimed at "containing" the Indonesian Revolution.

Convinced that, at least for the time being, co-operation with Malaya would not be possible, Indonesia now severed the economic relations with Malaya and Singapore which had been a source of difficulties for some time past. This move released as much as one-third of Indonesia's total export (apart from oil products) from marketing through foreign middlemen, and ended the unhealthy over-dependence upon foreign processing of export products, especially small-holders rubber. Indonesia's confrontation of "Malaysia" was stepped up, and Indonesian volunteers were given facilities to join the North Kalimantan freedom-fighters.

Demonstrations and increased guerrilla activity were the answer of the peoples of Malaya, Singapore, Serawak and Sabah to the imposition of "Malaysia". The Kuala Lumpur regime used the opportunity to rid itself of a great deal of its political opposition, while the British, ensuring that the top command was always in British hands, added to their colonial forces in North Kalimantan, including the Ghurka mercenaries from Nepal.

It is not only in the military field that the "top command" in "Malaysia" is British. As President Sukarno stated long ago, the basic motive for colonies is economic, and the basic economic theme underlying "Malaysia" is a matter of copra, rubber, tin and oil. Either through direct investment and ownership, of through marketing and credit devices, British firms control about 75 % of Malaya's rubber estates, 65 % of its tin mines and some 70 % of its import and export trade, about 80 % of Serawak's chief exports and some 85 % of the rubber, timber and copra products of Sabah. No wonder that "Malaysia" is still one of the two biggest foreign contributors to the Sterling Area.

Besides the stipulation regarding military bases already referred to earlier giving the United Kingdom government the right "to make such use of those bases and facilities as that government may consider necessary for the purpose of assisting in the defence of "Malaysia", and for Commonwealth defence and for the preservation of peace in South-East Asia", Britain also has a military hold upon "Malaysia" itself. An earlier agreement with Malaya, whereby Britain has rights to defend the security of its bases as it sees fit, now applies to all the territories of "Malaysia". Hence, should some future government of "Malaysia" try to abolish these foreign bases on its territory, Britain could use force to overthrow that government.

Thus, the establishment of "Malaysia" made Britain's economic and military hold in South-East Asia more secure than it had been for some time past. But, if the old established forces had thus strengthened their position, the new emerging forces which repelled their domination were to show that they were far from weak.

Before the end of 1963, Indonesia had moved rather far in removing traces of her former dependency upon marketing facilities from Malaya and Singapore. The Riau archipelago, just to the south of Singapore, had switched its currency to the Indonesian rupiah. Preparations were well under way for Sabang, the most northerly port of Sumatra, to be used as an up-to-date free port, whilst free trade zones and new ocean

harbours for exports were prepared elsewhere at suitable places in Indonesia.

Britain took retaliatory economic measures, such as interference in the private contracts with Indonesia for radar installations for the Bandung post and telecommunications service, detention of Indonesian shipping in Hongkong, etc. From this time onwards, all encouragement was given to the smuggling of raw materials to Malaya and Singapore from Sumatra, Kalimantan and Sulawesi. Subversive acts of various kinds were organised from within the "Malaysia" territories encircling the north-western arc of the Indonesian archipelago, including manipulations with the Indonesian currency and the arming and equipping of terrorist bands in Sulawesi.

Efforts at Peaceful Negotiations

The situation deteriorated daily. The freedom-fighters of North Kalimantan had now settled down to a steady pattern of guerrilla warfare. More Indonesian volunteers were going to their assistance. The British were increasing their military strength in the area. Shooting incidents were frequent.

Nevertheless, it was under these conditions that Presidents Sukarno and Macapagal decided to hold the first Mushawarah Maphilindo. Action by two signatories to the Manila Agreements seemed better than none at all; even if the Tunku was wrecking the arrangements through subservience to the British, it might be possible to maintain something of what had been gained.

And so, in Manila in January 1964, the leaders of Indonesia and the Philippines reiterated their faith in the idea of Maphilindo, confirmed their adherence to the Manila Agreements — so disastrously broken by Malaya at British insistence — and pronounced what has come to be called "the Sukarno-Macapagal Doctrine".

This doctrine proclaims the principle that Asian problems should be solved by Asians themselves in an Asian way. By Asians themselves: without interference from outside. In an Asian way: through the democratic proceeding of deliberations to arrive at consensus amongst the different parties.

Shortly thereafter, whilst in Japan on a private visit, President Sukarno received United States Attorney General Robert Kennedy, the special envoy of President Johnson. Mr Kennedy offered his mediation over the "Malaysia" issue, suggesting a cease-fire as an act of goodwill by the parties concerned in order to clear the air for negotiations. After this meeting with President Sukarno, Mr. Kennedy further prospected possibilities in the Philippines and Malaya and then came to Djakarta. And from Djakarta on 23rd January, 1964, a cease-fire was announced, to be effective as from 25th January.

Barely had Mr Kennedy continued his journey on to London, however, when the colonial authorities in North Kalimantan had a leaflet air-dropped ordering Indonesian volunteers to surrender with all arms, as though this were part of the cease-fire arrange-

President Sukarno receives United States Attorney General, Robert Kennedy, acting as envoy of President Johnson. Tokyo, January 1964.
(A.P. Photo)



ment. It was necessary for Indonesia to point out the trickery of this instruction and to state unequivocally that cease-fire meant merely stop shooting; that it implied stand fast and it did NOT imply in any way whatsoever either surrender or withdrawal.

From this time on, "Malaysia's" officials have tried to attach the meaning of complete withdrawal of Indonesia's volunteers to every concession which the Republic was prepared to make for the sake of trying to reach a peaceful settlement of the issue.

Thanat Khoman, Foreign Minister of Thailand, had offered his services some time previously, for it had become obvious to all the South-East Asian countries that the "Malaysia" issue held a grave threat. Through Thanat Khoman's intermediary, it was eventually decided that a tripartite meeting of Ministers, preceding a summit level gathering, should be held in Bangkok. Accordingly, the three Foreign Ministers and their staffs met in Bangkok from 5th to 10th February 1964, with the good offices of Thailand's Thanat Khoman.

They discussed execution of the cease-fire as a means of creating the "favourable climate necessary for the success of the summit meeting"; they agreed to ask U Thant of the United Nations to designate Thailand to verify execution of the cease-fire arrangements they had made. But when it came to the point of trying to outline matters for discussion by the Summit on the basic political issue, the Kuala Lumpur officials insisted that cease-fire must mean complete withdrawal of all the Indonesian volunteers who had gone to the aid of the Kalimantan freedom-fighters. Although this interpretation was quite unacceptable to Indonesia and the Philippines, the Ministers agreed they would meet once more to discuss arrangements for the Summit.

Just after the end of this Ministers Meeting, President Macapagal, with the help of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of the Cambodian State, met Tunku Abdul

Dr Subandrio, President Sukarno, Japan's Hayato Ikeda, President Macapagal, Ambassador Lopez, Tunku Abdul Rahman and Tun Razak seated around the table for the Tokyo Summit, 20 June 1964.

(A.P. Photo)



Rahman who was holidaying in Cambodia. But it transpired that the Tunku was not disposed to enter into serious talks, and nothing whatever came of this attempt, either with regard to the Philippines claim to Sabah, or with regard to the "Malaysia" issue.

When the Ministers gathered again in Bangkok on 3rd March, the Kuala Lumpur officials were not prepared to talk at all unless Indonesia would first withdraw all the volunteers in North Kalimantan. Indonesia pointed out that the presence of the volunteers in North Kalimantan was the consequence and not the cause of the "Malaysia" issue. When the political issue of removing neo-colonialist elements from British-made "Malaysia" had been solved and the serious breach of agreement repaired, neither the volunteers nor the freedom-fighters would constitute a problem any longer. Nevertheless, Indonesia stated that it was prepared to call upon the volunteers to effect a progressive disengagement in time with any progress achieved in political talks. But the Kuala Lumpur group rejected this offer and demanded withdrawal of the volunteers as a pre-condition for any discussions.

The Ministers returned home on 7th March with nothing accomplished towards a Summit Meeting, and it seemed once more difficult to see where a way out of this impasse might lie.

President Macapagal again showed his determination to try all possible means to find a solution. He sent his emissary to make a concerted effort and for many days Ambassador S. P. Lopez shuttled tirelessly back and forth between Kuala Lumpur and Djakarta trying to arrange the basis for a Summit Meeting.



Japan's offer of a site for the 1964 Summit displayed again the concern of Asian countries over the seriousness of the "Malaysia" problem, and their desire for a negotiated settlement.

For some time, Ambassador Lopez was unable to make progress against the unrealistic attitude of the Kuala Lumpur officials. It began to appear that the forces of imperialism and colonialism were preparing for a more serious military adventure. At the urging of the Indonesian people, on 3rd May 1964, President Sukarno issued the *Dwikora* Command to strengthen the resistance of the Indonesian Revolution and to give help to the North Kalimantan freedom-fighters.

Not long after this Ambassador Lopez' efforts began to bear fruit, in which a contributory factor was, perhaps, some informal visits paid to the region by the British Undersecretary for Asian Affairs. By the end of May the basis for holding a Summit Meeting could be formulated. Statements issued on 1st June 1964 in Kuala Lumpur and Djakarta laid down the salient points of what it had been agreed to do, and once more it appeared that the way was paved to a Summit Meeting, this time scheduled to take place in Tokyo, and to be held by the middle of the month.

Indonesia stated its acceptance of the principle of withdrawal of volunteers, and it was agreed that an initial withdrawal — 50 had been mentioned as a suitable token — would begin simultaneously with a meeting of the three Ministers to prepare for the Summit. As soon as the Ministers had agreed upon a suitable agenda and verification of the initial withdrawal had been received from Thailand's on-the-spot teams, the Summit would begin. Participants in the Summit would therefore need to be in Tokyo well before the middle of the month so that, as these arrangements required, they would be on hand during the Ministers meeting.

Accordingly, Presidents Sukarno and Macapagal went to Tokyo.

Meanwhile, argument on technicalities had begun in Bangkok as to how verification of the withdrawal of the volunteers was to be made. At one stage, the Kuala Lumpur regime even rejected Thailand's request for specially-marked planes and for radio equipment to facilitate the verification. The question of the check-points, once determined, was suddenly opened all over again by the Kuala Lumpur group. So finicky and so protracted was this argument that it seemed that Kuala Lumpur did not, in reality, want to discuss a settlement. On 13th June, Foreign Minister Subandrio was constrained to remark: "If "Malaysia" is not prepared to accept the voluntary and peaceful initial withdrawal of Indonesian volunteers, then they are free to try to get them out by force." Next day, however, the "Malaysia" officials finally agreed as to what they would accept as verification.

It was at this very point that another act of treachery occurred. It had not been possible to keep the Indonesian volunteers informed as to all the delays and changes in plans caused by Kuala Lumpur, and so a party of volunteers began to approach the border at the place and time originally fixed, without ever knowing that these plans had been changed. They were ambushed by British colonial forces and some of their number killed. Possibly the colonial officials were waiting for just some such opportunity to create an incident that would lead to breaking off the talks. At least, Tunku Abdul Rahman's reluctance to go to Tokyo was so great that he had still not left Kuala Lumpur, although there remained only a single day before the mid-month date set for the Summit. He finally left for Tokyo in leisurely fashion only two days later.

Thus it was only after many delays and much intransigence from Kuala Lumpur that, with the Tunku at last in Tokyo, the Foreign Ministers could begin discussions on 18th June. An increase in the number of check-points for use during the further withdrawal of volunteers was agreed upon and next day news came from the Thai on-the-spot teams that the initial withdrawal of volunteers had already been accomplished.

Everything was now ready for the Summit discussions of the basic political issue of "Malaysia". Not only was the cease-fire being implemented. Indonesia had stated in writing her endorsement of the principle of withdrawing the volunteers, and, in actual fact, had already effected an initial withdrawal. And the necessary technicalities had also been agreed upon to continue the withdrawals in keeping with the progress made in the political talks.

The Summit met on the day following the second meeting of the Ministers, that is, on 20th June 1964. It ended the same day – with complete agreement between Indonesia and the Philippines, and a complete stalemate between these two on the one side and "Malaysia" on the other.

The Philippines had proposed an African-Asian Conciliation Commission to be composed of one country each nominated by Indonesia, the Philippines and "Malaysia", and a fourth member to be elected by the three nominees. Not only was this proposal immediately accepted by Indonesia. With full confidence in the spirit of wisdom in African-Asian solidarity against colonialism and imperialism, President Sukarno stated

directly that he would abide by any recommendation which this Commission might make for the solution of the "Malaysia" issue. In contrast, Tunku Abdul Rahman accepted this proposal in principle only, and once more with the precondition that Indonesia stop its confrontation and withdraw the volunteers first. And so the Summit ended without a single word being spoken about the fundamental political issue, and this, it appeared, was just what Britain and her "Malaysia" officials had wanted all along.

Although the Philippines spoke hopefully about another meeting of Ministers to try to take up this new possibility of reaching a peaceful solution, it was obvious that nothing could be done immediately.

The cease-fire that had held since 25th January could no longer be maintained. Disgust at the intransigence of the Kuala Lumpur officials and the conviction that they were no more than flunkies of British neo-colonialism, brought growing militancy amongst the Indonesian people. Large mass demonstrations took place in July and August in different cities in the Republic, demanding severance of diplomatic relations with Britain and the granting of *de jure* recognition to the Unitary State of North Kalimantan. And the volunteers urged more and more strongly that greater numbers of them be given facilities to join the struggle for liberation of the people upon whom "Malaysia" had been imposed.

The Security Council Listens

Early in September 1964, the Kuala Lumpur regime suddenly began to use a new tactic. On the basis of an alleged infiltration into a village area in South Malaya by some thirty Indonesian volunteers, it charged the Republic of Indonesia with "aggression" and called upon the Security Council of the United Nations to take action.

Indonesia, however, is no longer a newcomer to the international scene, compelled through weakness to allow others to blacken her good name with impunity. Indonesia's anti-colonial cause is, naturally, unpopular with the old established forces that have dominated the world in the past. But no matter what propaganda those forces may make against Indonesia over the "Malaysia" issue — and their campaigns have at least been noted for their variety if not for their veracity — Indonesia's anti-colonialist stand and the basic political issue at stake with regard to British-made "Malaysia" are becoming increasingly better known in all parts of the world.

Therefore, when the Security Council met from 9th to 17th September 1964, it not only heard "Malaysia's" complaint, it also listened — with various signs of respect — to Indonesia's exposition of the whole issue.

Not only did Indonesia reject the validity of the charge brought by "Malaysia", it also questioned the motives for so sudden a charge: in fact, both British-"Malaysia" forces and Indonesian volunteers had been making incursions into each other's terri-

tories for many months past, often in much greater strength than was now alleged, whilst this was the first time the Security Council had been called upon. More fundamentally yet, Indonesia showed the Security Council how the activities of Indonesian volunteer guerrillas and other acts of confrontation are made in necessary defence against the forces of imperialism, colonialism and especially of British neo-colonialism.



Indonesian Youth Organisations assembled in a mass rally to protest against British use of "Malaysia" as a vehicle to divert the Indonesian Revolution.

During the six meetings of the Security Council, it was not at bottom the complaint against Indonesia from the Kuala Lumpur regime which had the attention of the members, but, on the contrary, all the ramifications and implications of the British-made "Federation of Malaysia" itself and the confrontation of the Indonesian State and Revolution by the forces of the old order of the world.

In the final outcome, "Malaysia" was not successful in obtaining any decision at all from the Security Council, let alone in having Indonesia condemned or branded the

"aggressor", as the Kuala Lumpur regime wanted. Nor did that regime succeed in concealing its neo-colonialism, its dependence upon the British, and the fact that the once-colonial territories have been used, and still are, for acts of subversive aggression against Indonesia and of hostile opposition to the real independence of the peoples of South-East Asia.



Malayan Youth studying at Indonesian universities protest against British imposition of the neo-colonialist "Malaysia" project. KEMAM stands for Kesatuan Malaya Merdeka: United Association of Free Malaya.

The Security Council did not produce any resolution or other measure which might have contributed positively towards bringing the parties closer to a peaceful solution to the problem. Apart from providing Indonesia with the opportunity to show the "Malaysia" issue in its true proportions, therefore, the Security Council was not able to accomplish anything, and the whole question remains still unsettled, a thorn in the flesh of South-East Asia and a constant source of danger.

THE HEART OF THE ISSUE

The "Malaysia" issue is not a dispute between Indonesia and another independent and sovereign state called the "Federation of Malaysia". On the contrary, the issue concerns the composition and setting up of what is called "Malaysia" itself. "Malaysia" is thus not a party to a dispute; it is itself the object of a dispute between Indonesia and the Philippines on the one hand and the forces of the old order of British domination in South-East Asia on the other.

This situation is not altered by the fact that Indonesia has met, and is still prepared to meet, Kuala Lumpur officials to negotiate a possible settlement with them. This is because Indonesia signed the tripartite Manila Agreements with the former Federation of Malaya which is now ruled by the Kuala Lumpur regime.

Indonesia's policy of confrontation is essentially a means of defence against the interference, intervention, sabotage and subversion conducted over a number of years and still being conducted by the forces of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism against the new emerging forces in South-East Asia. That policy of confrontation is directed against "Malaysia" not as a state — so far as Indonesia is concerned, a state of that name does not exist — and certainly not as a nation, since the peoples of Malaya, Singapore, Serawak and Sabah are racial brothers and cultural cousins of the Indonesian people. That confrontation is directed against the concept of "Malaysia", the concept which is a manifestation of neo-colonialism.

The artificial British-made "federation" is not a legitimate state and Indonesia does not accord it recognition. It is certainly neither independent nor sovereign. Not only is "Malaysia" militarily dependent upon British, it is also dependent for political guidance upon Britain, as was once more proved from the recent consultations which the Kuala Lumpur officials were forced to make with the British representative during the sittings of the Security Council in September 1964.

"Malaysia" can be seen to have the structure that is typical of neo-colonialism. Its political leaders are those who were found to be "reliable" friends of the earlier colonial regime. It has no ideology of its own, but simply copies the institutions and follows the political, economic and social theories of the old imperial power. Its basic economic structure is still one which secures the old interests of colonialism. There has now even been the announcement that English, and not Malay, the people's own language, will continue to be the language used in schools, so that there continues to be a medium through which the people can still be kept culturally subservient to the old order.

Thus, while the governing bodies in "Malaysia" are composed of its own nationals, those nationals act merely as vehicles through which the old imperial power continues to implement its policies.

Those policies continue essentially to be the same as they were in the nineteenth century at the height of the power of the British Empire; they are policies aimed at protecting and maintaining Britain's imperial interests.

If it were true, as some people claim, that Britain is no longer an imperial power, or that Britain has no imperial or colonial interests left, then why does Britain itself insist that the United Kingdom government have the right to decide use of the Singapore military bases and facilities not only to "assist in defence of Malaysia", not even for Commonwealth defence in addition – both of which, perhaps, might be argued to be Britain's concern – but also even "for the preservation of peace in South-East Asia"? Why is South-East Asia the concern of Britain? What right does the United Kingdom government think it has to determine what constitutes peace or its absence in this region of the world.

It is within the context of maintaining British imperial interests that there lies one of the chief purposes for the formation of British-made "Malaysia", and that is the attempt to contain the Indonesian Revolution. It is not only that the Indonesian Revolution is dedicated to the elimination of colonialism, imperialism and other forms of domination and exploitation by the forces of the old order of the world, and, therefore, unabashedly gives aid – material aid as well as moral support – to nationalist movements fighting for independence, such as has happened with regard to Algeria, Morocco, Angola and now with regard to North Kalimantan. No doubt, in itself, this is vastly annoying to the imperialist powers. But the effects of the Indonesian Revolution now go much further than that.

Indonesia has an inspiring national ideology of its own, and with great vigour and conviction it propounds its theories in all international gatherings preaching relentless struggle against the forces of the old established order. Indonesia's voice is beginning to carry considerable weight in international forums and more than one nation has come to share Indonesia's revolutionary ideas and outlook. Therefore, Indonesia constitutes a growing danger to the forces of imperialism which still try to keep their old position of dominance in the world, and which are now doing all in their power to try to prevent the building of a new world onder of independence and social justice among the nations.

This is no figment of Indonesia's imagination, no persecution mania. The reality is all too well proved by events.

In the first year after Indonesia's proclamation of independence, the Republic had to contend with British imperialist elements as well as Dutch colonialism. It were leaders of the British Allied Forces, which had been sent to take over from the Japanese, who persuaded Republican leaders before 1945 was ended to alter the structure of government from that required by the adopted Constitution – that Constitution of the Proclamation which so clearly states its anti-colonial and anti-imperial objectives, which stipulates principles and establishes institutions calculated to assist in the anti-colonial and anti-imperial struggle. The pretext given was to make the Republican government "more democratic"; the result was to make it more amenable to the old established forces.

And even when the colonial war was over and Indonesia had won international recognition, the authorities in neighbouring Malaya and Singapore – then still British

colonies — did not hesitate to assist the Dutch colonialist elements who, in defiance of the undertakings given by their Kingdom, were still seeking to overthrow and to subvert the Republic of Indonesia. The notorious Westerling escaped through Singapore; subversives like Jungschlager and Schmidt had their connections there. The Republic, indeed, said almost nothing about all this at the time; it was engaged in a struggle to survive and had to keep its attention fixed on the closest enemy, which was then Dutch colonialism. Moreover, the Republic was aware that, sooner or later, Malaya and Singapore would also become independent and that colonialism would ultimately be evicted from all neighbouring countries.

And in 1957 Malaya did become independent. Indonesian greeted the independent state very gladly and concluded a treaty of friendship with it. Not very long thereafter, however, Malaya was used by foreign-supported rebels as a base from which to try to inflict as much damage as possible upon the Republic. This was during the turbulent period in which Indonesia was formulating its national ideology and re-stating the course which the Indonesian Revolution follows in harmony with the World Revolution. Because of this clarification of Indonesian aims, the forces of the old established order tried ever harder to interfere in Indonesia's internal affairs, to pervert the Indonesian State and to divert the course of the Indonesian Revolution. Assistance of all kinds was accorded the rebels in Sumatra and Sulawesi who were even promised that help before they formally defied the Republic. Not only were arms and ammunition air-dropped; Indonesian towns and shipping were bombed from foreign bases and foreign personnel were provided to assist such enterprises. Meanwhile, the smuggling out of Indonesian raw materials and other economic subversion and financial manipulation, which was chiefly organised from Singapore, continued in much strengthened form.

Because Indonesia wanted friendly relations with the people of Malaya and Singapore, it merely lodged a protest, and then kept quiet in face of the excuse of the Malayan government that, being neutral, it could do nothing save to see that the rebels did not engage in political activities in Malaya. In spite of some further doubts, occasioned by hostile comment made officially with regard to Indonesia's internal political and economic systems, Indonesia nevertheless determined to continue patient, being confident that, sooner or later, the people of Malaya would find their way to real independence from colonial and imperial interests.

There is no doubt whatever that the forces of British imperialism, both before and after Malaya became independent, have used their political and economic strongholds as well as their military bases around Indonesia to try to divert the course of the Revolution to channels that do not threaten the old established order of the world. There is every bit as much factual evidence that "Malaysia" is indeed a vehicle for continued and even more extended British interference and subversion in Indonesia.

The cases of incursions into Indonesian territory are legion, and began within a few days of the North Kalimantan rebellion. Not only aircraft, but also armed patrols, including groups of men dropped by parachute into Indonesian territory, have all

been discovered, even though the Republic's media for such detection are neither very modern nor very well organised. As a result of these violations of the Republic's territory, Indonesian lives have been lost and heavy damages have been caused to the homes and fields of villagers.

Besides such military incursions and attacks, serious British attempts have been made to foment rebellion and cause major disturbances within Indonesia. These attempts are still continuing, and it is noteworthy that the British often use the Indonesian rebels to whom they have given asylum in Malaya and whom they assisted against the Republic a few years ago. A few examples are worth citing.

In the Riau Islands, which lie just to the south of Singapore, fifty infiltrators were

The Indonesian Youth rally in August 1964 that demanded severance of diplomatic relations with Britain and de jure recognition for the Unitary State of North Kalimantan. So far, the Indonesian Government has not acceded to such requests.



captured and their arms seized in April 1964, just a month before the *Dwikora* Command was given to strengthen the resistance of the Indonesian Revolution. In June, 1964, arms were seized in East Kalimantan. They had been smuggled from Tawao to a group of conspirators incited by British agents provocateurs now in the "Malaysia" intelligence service. The arms included as much as twenty cases of ammunition and fifty Owen guns as well as other arms. One month later, an Indonesian was detained in Sulawesi who had formerly taken part in the 1958 *Permesta* rebellion; he confessed that he now had an important role in the organisation set up by British Intelligence in Tawao to infiltrate the machinery of Indonesia's economy, to promote smuggling and to supply the South Sulawesi terrorists with arms and money. And in August 1964, in Central Sulawesi, arms from Tawao were discovered where they lay in a cache for the Andi Selle terrorist gang. These supplies included as much as *thirty tons* of assorted ammunition and over five hundred and seventy Lee & Enfield rifles as well as a quantity of sub-machine guns and other arms.

Until economic relations were severed with Malaya and Singapore, and until British organisations in Indonesia were brought under control, all kinds of economic and financial methods were used to create as much difficulty for the Republic as possible, whilst international press campaigns chorused the theme of economic chaos and collapse in Indonesia. Commercial links were used for sabotage and interference; the smuggling out of copra and rubber in particular made inroads upon the Republic's sources of foreign credits, whilst at the same time being a factor in boosting internal inflation. Currency manipulations, including the smuggling in of counterfeit notes, added to the inflation.

Even since the Republic has taken measures to bring this situation under control, the attempts still continue, and, in view of what has been learnt of the activities of British Intelligence in Tawao, it can not be expected that even the most unscrupulous of attempts will soon cease.

Indonesia's confrontation of British-made "Malaysia" is a defence and a countermeasure against all these moves of active hostility and is the means adopted to protect the State and to ensure the continuity of the Revolution.

Indonesian's campaigns to "crush Malaysia" are directed at eliminating the British-planned concept of a "federation" of their former colonies as a means to maintain their own interests and as a vehicle for sabotaging and diverting the Indonesian Revolution. Indonesia's volunteers who enter the territories of that British-made "Malaysia" and who join the freedom-fighters in those territories, do not do so to fight the people who are so closely akin to them. They are there to fight, and in actual fact do fight, the British colonial forces, which unfortunately include Ghurkas from Nepal, and their allies the troops from Australia and New Zealand. Indonesia's economic confrontation of this neo-colonialist project is aimed directly at the forces which dominate "Malaysia" to the detriment of the people of that region and to the jeopardy of the Republic of Indonesia.

Indonesia does not have any quarrel with the people of Malaya, Singapore, Sera-

wak or Sabah. Quite the contrary, as is shown by the fact that Indonesia has repeatedly made the greatest possible concessions in order to try to reach a peaceful solution as quickly as possible. Even now, Indonesia is still willing to solve the issue peacefully, in spite of Kuala Lumpur's intransigence, repeated breaking of their solemn undertakings and violation of the Manila Agreements, and continued subservience to the British. Although preferring the procedure laid down in the Manila Agreements, Indonesia is prepared to keep to the undertaking given in Tokyo, and to accept any recommendation made by the African-Asian Conciliation Commission proposed by President Macapagal.

The main obstacle to reaching a peaceful solution is the direct or indirect interference of the forces at work in the cause of Britain's imperialist and colonialist interests. It cannot be stressed too strongly that the "Malaysia" issue is NOT a quarrel between Indonesia and an independent and sovereign state, but is specifically a struggle against neo-colonialism. That struggle is not being waged merely in the interests of the Indonesian people alone, but also in the interests of the people of Malaya, Singapore, Serawak, Sabah — and, indeed, also in the interests of the other peoples of South-East Asia and of the world as a whole.

Neo-colonialism is one of the modern forms taken by the forces of domination and exploitation which grew in the old order of the world. While that domination and exploitation continues, the part of mankind subjected to it is not only deprived of the political rights of independence and democracy, but is also suppressed and exploited economically and is socially and culturally retarded. British domination and exploitation in South-East Asia — a condition which grew as the old order of the world developed — is maintained today as neo-colonialism in the present "Malaysia".

While external domination is allowed to remain in this region of the world, no efforts can be made to organise co-operation amongst the countries of South-East Asia to hasten the well-being of their peoples. It is not possible to co-operate with the forces of domination and exploitation for the sake of the well-being of the dominated and exploited.

While external domination remains, no truly independent country in the region will be left alone to work out its destiny as its own people intend. Real independence is anathema to the forces of domination and they will always try to suppress it.

While external domination remains, no progress will be possible in keeping with the needs and the spirit of the new order that is growing in the world —— that new order which is based upon independence, abiding peace and social justice. That new order can thrive only when the old order of domination has ended.

While British neo-colonialism remains in South-East Asia, the people of Malaya, Singapore, Serawak and Sabah will never be able to secure their effective independence and their real emancipation. Nor will they be able to unite in a real merger or federation or build a single state of their own for their own real interests. Their will and their aspirations and needs will continue to be subservient to those of British neo-colonialism.

While British neo-colonialism remains, the Indonesian State and Revolution will continue to be under constant attack from the forces of the old order of the world, since that State and that Revolution aim at eliminating imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism from this world.

While outside powers continue, through force or other means, to exert their will in South-East Asia in the interests of the old established order, the tripartite Maphilindo, or any other similar genuine attempt at co-operation between countries for the sake of progress, can not be implemented. While neo-colonialism or any other form of domination by the old established order continues imbedded in the political structure of any country in South-East Asia, it will be impossible to practice peaceful co-existence in the region, because co-existence is dependent upon equality and is destroyed by domination.

British "Malaysia" is a barrier to international peace and progress.



The women's organisations have not forgotten how to dress, even though they have progressed beyond the idea that women should be active only in the home.

A grand procession and parade is held every year in connection with the Independence Day celebrations. The pictures here and overleaf show some of the variety and colour of these occasions.









Preparing for the Pantja Sila anniversary. Platform and decorations erected in front of the Department of Foreign Affairs building which housed the People's Advisory Council in colonial times, and in the central hall of which Bung Karno enunciated the Pantja Sila principles as the *weltanschauung* for the future independent state.



On 1st June 1964, nineteen years after addressing the Investigating Body, President Sukarno joined the anniversary celebrations and recalled how he had been inspired in 1945 to take the Five Principles from the nation's rich cultural and political heritage, since all the nation could endorse them and was ready to uphold them.



THE DYNAMISM OF PANTJA SILA

The Republic of Indonesia is nineteen years old. Suppose someone asks an Indonesian: "What has been the greatest asset of your nation since the proclamation of its independence?", he would immediately reply: "Our greatest asset is Pantja Sila!"

Pantja Sila is the ideology of the Indonesian state composed of the following five principles: Belief in God, Nationalism, Humanism, Sovereignty of the People and Social Justice.

The genius of Pantja Sila lies in the following two factors:

One — It synchronizes and sublimates the common denominators of the traditional ways of life of the mozaic cultural legacy of Indonesia.

Two — It synchronizes and further sublimates the most progressive contents of other world revolutions and makes them an integral part of Indonesia's own revolution.

Consequently, Pantja Sila, while innate in the traditional Indonesian way of life, is fully responsive to the highest aspirations of modern men. And most important of all, while it gives the highest throne to Man, it recognizes that his greatness is rooted in belief in the supremacy of God.

President Sukarno has stressed this in unmistakable terms:

"No man, no nation," said he, "can become truly great unless he is a believer in God!"

It is on these points that Indonesia believes that Pantja Sila, as a state ideology, is a major improvement over the American Declaration of Independence, the French Rights of Man and the Communist Manifesto as well. President Sukarno again, in an article entitled *Reflections on the Indonesian Revolution,* gave the following view about Pantja Sila:

> "We must certainly acknowledge that the American Revolution was progressive for its day, the French Revolution also, for its age; and the Soviet Revolution was progressive in both its national and its international context.
>
> The fast-changing conditions in the world today, and the crystallization of the three phenomena I mentioned above since mid-century, however, demand the most modern of concepts and attitudes, which will serve us tomorrow as well as today. Thus the logic of the Indonesian Revolution, its approaches and its concepts are not to be found in what suited the need for independence of the American



The beginning of a long poster erected outside the Department of Foreign Affairs to depict the dynamic role played by Pantja Sila in independent Indonesia. The words read: "Pantja Sila was born on June 1945."

(Dept. Foreign Affairs Photo)

people, in what suited the rise of the French bourgeoisie, in what suited the search for social justice of the Soviet proletariat."

According to President Sukarno, a modern revolution, such as the Indonesian Revolution, must "run parallel to, and conform with the aroused aspirations of all new emerging forces of today". To quote the Indonesian Head of State again:

"No idea, no concept, no approach, however "progressive" it may be in name, can long satisfy the revolutionary struggle taking place within a nation for better human relationships, for improved living standards, for greater opportunity to develop the human spirit, if that idea or concept or approach does not accord with the similar struggle (taking place) throughout the world which, willy-nilly, will affect national conditions."

And linking the aspirations of the Indonesian Revolution to those of the resurgent revolution of Mankind, President Sukarno pointed out:

"... the sources of our Indonesian Revolution conform with the sources of revolutionary transformation taking place (today) throughout the world, because in actual reality those sources are one and the same. One occurs at the national and Indonesian level, the other is no more than a reflection of the same source in many nations at the international and world level."

To carry the analysis further, the "experiment" with Pantja Sila in Indonesia constitutes but a laboratory version of a greater world-wide experiment which inevitably will come. It follows, then, that success in Indonesia would ensure success for world-wide application.

Many of the sources of conflict, at the national as well as international levels, can be traced back to conflict of values, or conflict of ways of life. Within this context, it is important to point out here that of all countries in the world, none has gone through the encounters between so many varied world cultures as has Indonesia. Name any one major world religion: it has washed at the shore of the Indonesian archipelago! As pointed out by Professor George McTurnan Kahin in his book *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia*: "For many centuries the Indies were a crossroad not only of commerce but of ideas. It is probably because of this . . . (their people have) exhibited such notable tolerance and hospitality to religious and intellectual currents from outside."

This tolerance of divergent ideas and receptivity to new religious and intellectual currents from outside can be traced back to this: a way of life guided by Pantja Sila. In Pantja Sila a consensus has been successfully formulated among what appeared in distant lands to be irreconcilable ideas and concepts. Without the guidance of the wisdom of Pantja Sila, Indonesia — a country of devout Moslems, dedicated Christians, loyal Buddhists and conscientious Hindus, patriotic Nationalists and militant Marxists — would have been involved in perpetual communal or religious conflicts.

Painters at work on the poster. (Dept. Foreign Affairs Photo)



But we have been fortunate that within the very short period of less than twenty years of independence, Indonesia, composed of 103 million people, scattered over six thousand islands, speaking 86 regional languages, believing in divergent religions, has come to unite in solidarity as a single family.

Further, with regard to the ideological conflicts between what is commonly called the West and the Soviet world, as well as between the two schools of the Communist world, Pantja Sila serves as an invaluable asset once more. It prevents the Indonesian people from being dragged into these conflicts which are rooted in the very fact that none of these particular ideologies is sufficiently responsive to and representative of the universal aspirations of Mankind.

It is for these reasons that we consider Pantja Sila to be the greatest asset in our possession throughout our entire existence as a free and independent nation. It serves as a strong unifying factor at home.

It serves as a strong anchor preventing the nation from being swayed back and forth by contending concepts and ideologies less universal in nature. At the same time, it places the nation in a position fully in contact with and responsive to the growing aspirations of Mankind in transformation.

It was on the basis of this domestic and foreign experience and the resultant conviction in our life as a nation and in our relationships with other peoples the world over, that we proposed the adoption of Pantja Sila as a harmonizing concept for a world in transition.

President Sukarno, the philosopher who had revived and re-formulated these traditional precepts, officially suggested Pantja Sila to the United Nations General Assembly session in 1961 as a possible basis on which to build the world anew.

In his appeal to the world assembly, President Sukarno said the following historic words:

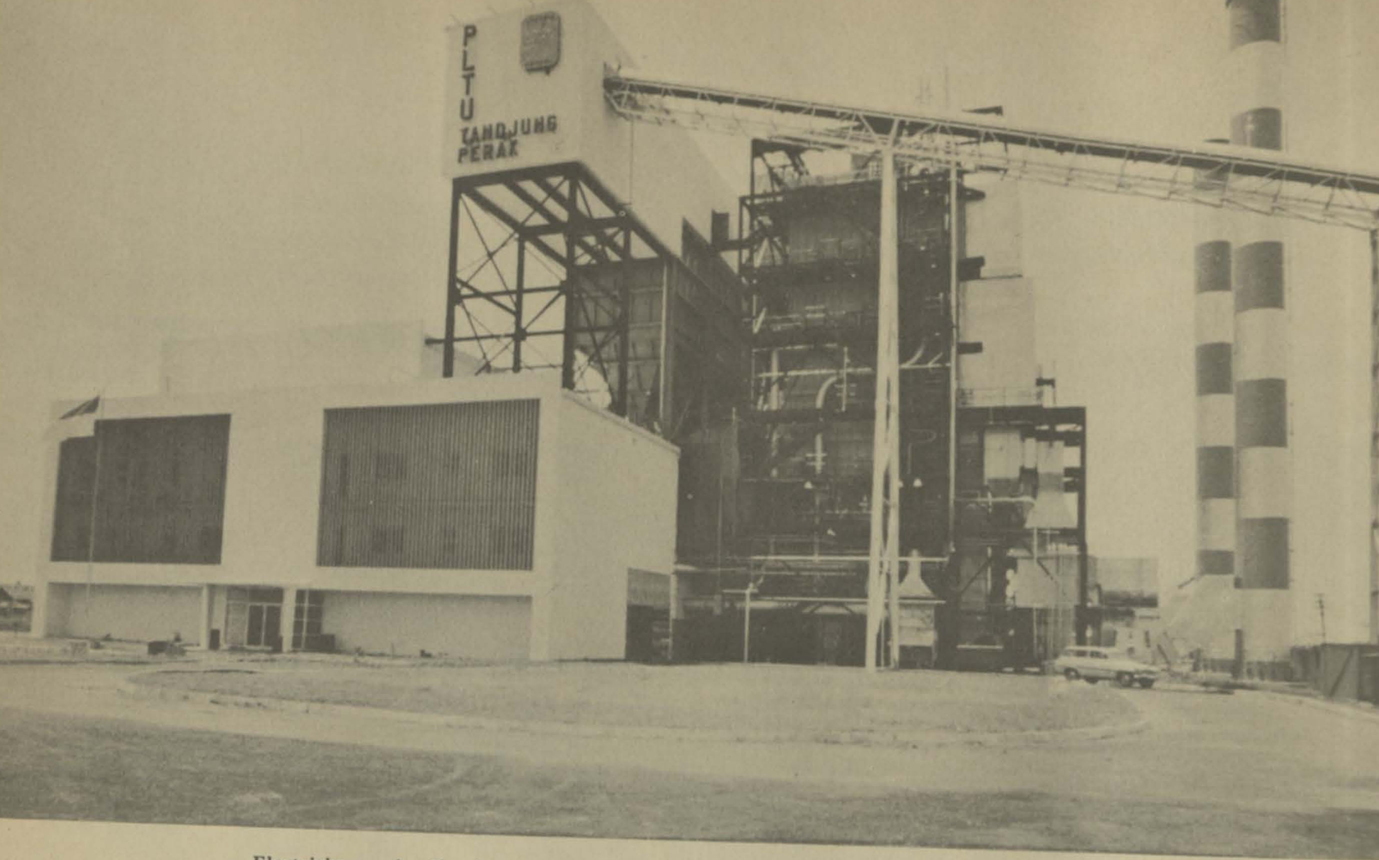
> "I believe, yes, I firmly believe, that the adoption of those five principles (of Pantja Sila) and the writing of them into the Charter would greatly strengthen the United Nations. I believe it would bring the United Nations into line with the recent developments of the world. I believe it would make it possible for the United Nations to face the future refreshed and with confidence. Finally, I believe that the adoption of Pantja Sila as a foundation of the Charter would make the Charter more wholeheartedly acceptable to all members, both old and new."

As the Indonesian Revolution — which is fully congruent with the Revolution of Mankind — progresses, Indonesia comes to recognize even more clearly the vital assets embodied in the dynamism of Pantja Sila. This is why, on 1st June, 1964, at the height of the "Year of Living Dangerously", Indonesia devoted time and energy to observe, on a nation-wide basis, the 19th anniversary of Pantja Sila in a most solemn and festive manner.



Great public interest was aroused in the poster.

(Dept. Foreign Affairs Photo)



Electricity works, Surabaya.

(Miko Surabaya Photo)

Surabaya dock.





Spraying tobacco by plane.

A motor sprayer for paddy.





Istana Merdeka, Djakarta. The archer has been named after the People's Triple Command for the liberation of West Irian.



The mosque behind Istana Merdeka. Friday prayers are usually attended by many Cabinet Ministers as well as by the President.

The garden between Istana Merdeka and Istana Negara.
(Three Miko Surabaya Photos)



West Irian, the release from colonialism of which is marked by this monument in the centre of the capital, continues to receive special attention in order that its development can quickly reach that of the rest of the country.





More than a thousand years old, the Prambanan group of Hindu *tjandi* are only a few minutes' drive from Jogjakarta, Central Java.

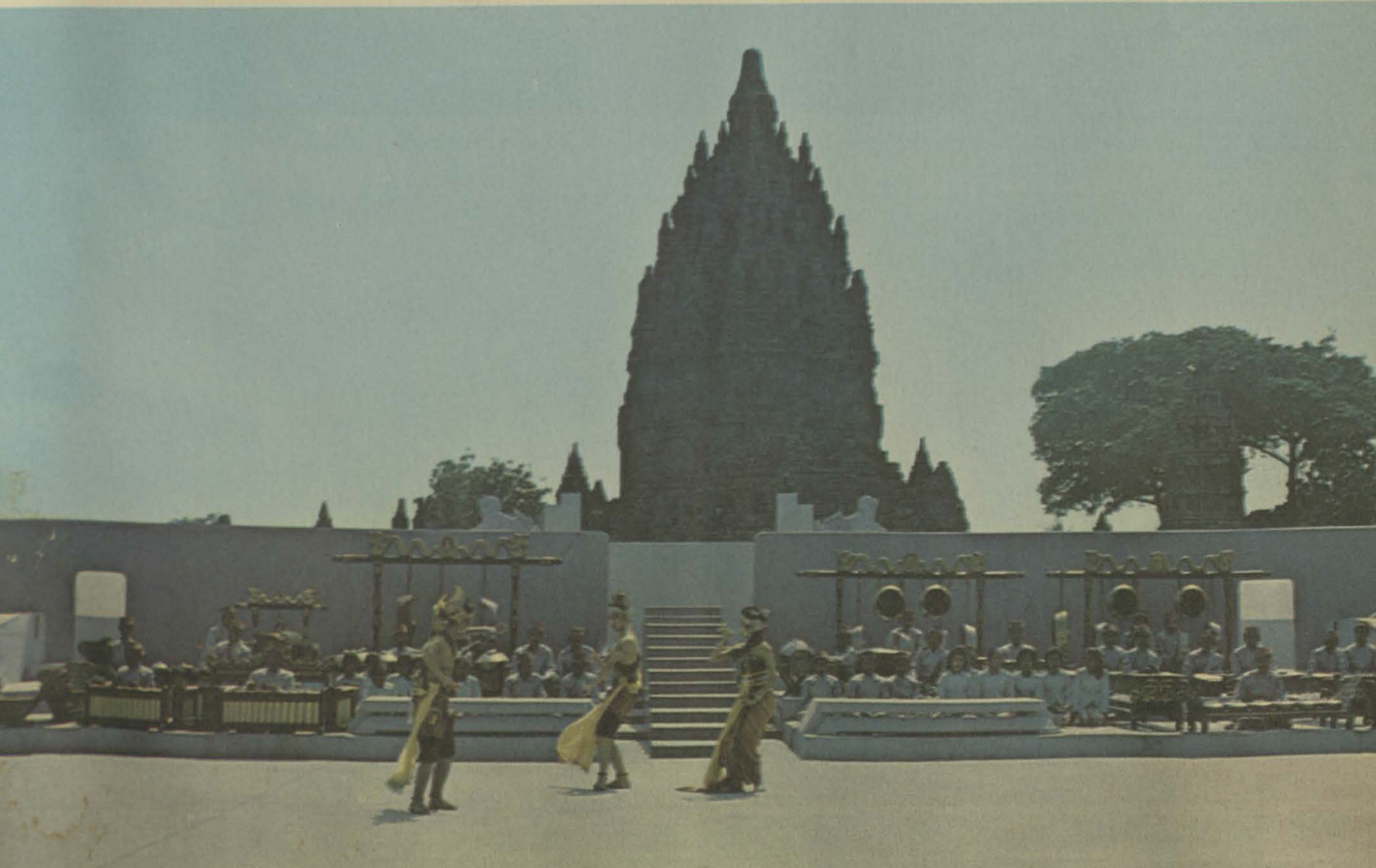
A Balinese *gamelan* orchestra of mainly percussion instruments playing a dance accompaniment.





A Balinese *puri* gateway with worshippers bearing offerings. In general, the Balinese are Hindus.

The Ramayana Ballet, a modern version of the Hindu epic based on the Central Javanese classical dance, is performed in six parts on fullmoon nights before the Prambanan group.





Shore-lines are one of Indonesia's most typical settings. With over thirteen thousand islands, the country's shore lines add up to hundreds of thousands of miles.

Komodo, the living dinosaur, inhabits just one small island in the Nusatenggara group to the east of Bali.

The hills of East Java are well-known "cabbage country". This specimen is just ready for trucking to Surabaya or perhaps even to the capital almost 600 miles away.





FOOD FOR A HUNDRED MILLION

In his Independence Day address to the nation on 17th August 1964, President Sukarno urged that, in the shortest possible time, the country should stand on its own feet in the matter of food requirements. Pointing out that Indonesia was convinced that every Asian-African country must stand on its own feet economically, be independent politically, and have an identity of its own culturally, President Sukarno quoted Korean Prime Minister Kim Il Sung as saying in 1947 that:

> "In order to build a democratic state, the foundation of an independent economy of the nation must be established . . . Without the foundation of an independent economy, we can neither attain independence, nor found the state, nor subsist."

For these reasons, therefore, the Indonesian Nation was asked to cease, as soon as possible, from importing rice, and, to this end, to increase food production whilst varying the daily menu to incorporate other carbohydrate-rich staples besides rice.

The natural wealth of Indonesia and the fertility of its soil is a by-word, and the fact that the country has not been self-supporting in foodstuffs may appear to be a contradiction. Although this is a mistaken impression, the apparent contradiction arises out of a number of different factors.

In pre-colonial times an abundance of food was available to the entire population and a surplus was exported. Throughout the first phase of Dutch rule in the archipelago, rice continued to fill many cargo-ships of the East Indies Company, which obtained cotton and silk piece goods in India and China in exchange for Indonesian rice. But this situation had changed before colonial rule came to an end, and in the thirties of this century the colonial authorities had already found it necessary to issue regulations regarding rice imports.

The reason for this deterioration in the production of foodstuffs – especially in the production of rice – was inherent in the colonial economy itself, which concentrated all attention upon the production of goods for export. At various times, this concentration upon exports led to the actual replacement of the growing of food crops; in Central Java, for instance, sugar was planted upon rice-growing lands to the detriment of rice production – but then, sugar became the most important colonial export from Indonesia.

It should be explained at this point, perhaps, what is the nature of the Indonesian menu in general.



In the first place, the staple varies considerably from one part of the country to another. Some notable examples are the sago used as staple in the Moluccas and coastal West Irian; the taro and sweet potato of highland West Irian; the maize of

Madura island and parts of East Java; the rice of Java. Other cereals and carbohydrate-rich crops such as millet, cassava and *gaplek* (dried cassava) are used widely in addition,



whilst the previously-mentioned staples are now being used in combination in increasing areas of the country. Nevertheless, even up to the present, there are areas of significant extent where the population is accustomed to a menu in which the staple



Sampling the maize harvest, Tjibinong, West Java. The crop from one of the new maize varieties, planted by the Kosgoro co-operative to popularise this grain as an additional staple in a rice-eating area.

– rice, maize, sago or taro – appears two or three times a day, every day in the year. And rice is till the favoured staple of by far the greater part of the population.

The staple is usually boiled or steamed as grain or root, and is eaten with "side dishes" which are often highly spiced. The staple forms the bulk of the meal. Meat is not usually eaten in large quantities, but, together with poultry, dried fish, fresh fish, fish paste, chicken, duck and hen eggs, it supplies animal protein. Rich vegetable proteins are obtained from the yeastmatured preparations of soya bean known as *tempe* and *tahu*, as well as from pulses of many kinds. Various leaf-vegetables, carrots and other root-vegetables, tomatoes and most of the vegetables known in the English-speaking world are grown in Indonesia, as well as certain indigenous kinds. Many different varieties of citrus fruit and banana, two varieties of papaya and pineapple are to be obtained the whole year round, while the "fruit season", which lasts some three or four months of the year, produces many tropical favourities, such as the mango, mangosteen, sour-sop, durian, guava, loquat, avocado pear and so forth. The flesh of the coconut and the milk extracted from that flesh are both used in cooking, whilst coconut oil is used for frying.

Puddings, cakes and biscuits are not generally eaten as part of the main meal or meals, but as snacks in between. The main meal is sometimes followed by raw fruit, but fruit, too, is often eaten casually, more for pleasure than to still the pangs of hunger.

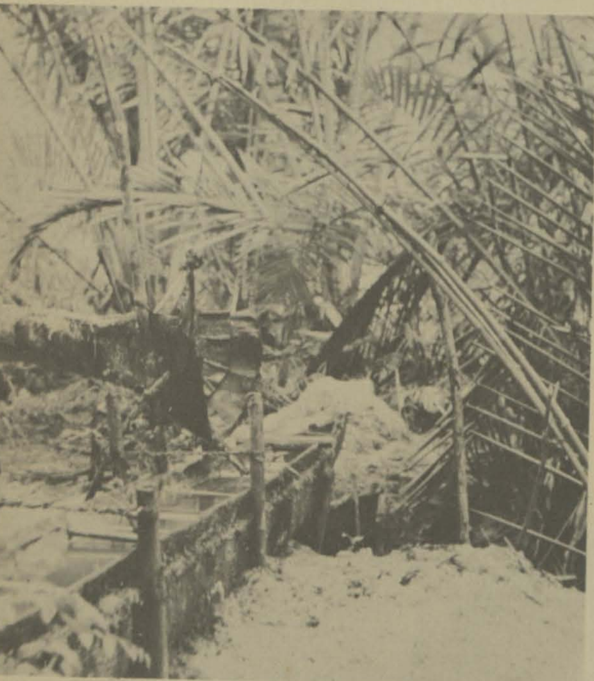
Historically, the menu of the different regions has often been extremely rigid, and it is still true that some kinds of foodstuffs are not to be found outside certain parts of the country. But this rigidity is being broken down, partly through circumstance and partly through education. During the Japanese occupation of the country, for instance, it was not always possible for rice-eaters to obtain their favourite food, since the Japanese exported considerable quantities; and, during the colonial war, disturbances led to breakdowns in supply for long stretches of time. Ever since independence, the Indonesian health services have been stressing the need for an improved menu – improved, that is, from the point of view of food values, which also means greater variety. The present drive to stand on our own feet calls for greater variety for economic reasons as well.

Since independence, too, the nature of the country's economy has been changed, so that the stress lies no longer upon the production of export goods, but upon the building of a national economy aimed at increasing the people's well-being, and at maintaining and carrying out the Indonesian Revolution as the means to that end. In spite of various changes of a fundamental nature in the structure of the economy,



Spreading paddy on the soft mud of the seed bed. The grain sprouts directly from the stalk; the seedlings will be transplanted into the paddy fields only when the plants have grown thick and bright green, several inches high.







however, it has not yet been possible to remove all the imbalances and lack of economic development caused either deliberately or through neglect in colonial times.

It is these imbalances and lack of development which are now the more serious factor mitigating against the drive to stand on our own feet. In actual fact the country does produce sufficient foodstuffs for a reasonable menu for the entire population, but difficulties of storage and distribution, largely traceable to the lack of development or to uneven development, all too often prevent the foods from reaching parts of the population suffering current shortages.

It is not only that colonial imbalance has led to only certain parts of the country alone being used for economic production; colonial concentration upon export crops led to only certain areas of the country being thickly populated, whilst others still lie almost empty. Some areas of the thickly populated parts cannot support themselves in food, and so there has arisen the phenomenon known as the "surplus" and the "minus" areas. The problem is simple on paper: remove the surplus to the minus areas, and food will be adequate.

In practice, the picture is quite different. The whole of the economic infrastructure has been just as badly out of balance as the uneven development in the production sector, and there are often no harbours, no roads, no storage sheds, no rice mills, no commercial organisation — whether of skilled persons or of credit etc. facilities, not to mention a shortage of ships and vehicles — at the points where they are needed.

This already complex picture is further complicated by two factors of great importance. In the first place, the population is increasing at the rate of 2.3 per cent per

Bananas; sago palms and the trough for extracting the pith; cassava tubers.

annum. In 1964, the population of the country is just over 103 million; in 1965, it will be 105 million, and so on, at geometrical and not arithmetical progression, of course. And the need for foods will increase proportionately.

Secondly, and perhaps even more importantly in the short term, the food demands of the population are rising, both in quantity and in quality. People who, before independence, were satisfied with one meal a day — that is, one full meal in which the favoured staple supplied the bulk — now expect to have two or three such meals, and also look for more proteins and vitamins. No one in Indonesia would ever wish to discourage this — the Revolution is itself aimed at achieving greater well-being for the people. But these increased demands make additional calls upon food production and food distribution.

These, then, are the difficulties to be faced and the problems to be overcome in feeding ourselves. The present campaign is not the first to attempt something of this sort. It is, however, the first to view the problem from the angle of staples as a whole, and not merely from the angle of the rice production and rice import.

In terms of staples as a whole, the short-term aim is to supply the population with 160 kilograms of rice or rice-equivalent per capita per annum. The estimate for 1964 production is as follows:

rice production . . . . :	91 kilograms per capita
maize production . . . . . . :	39 kg. rice-equivalent per capita.
taro, cassava and other root crops :	50 kg. rice-equivalent per capita
total rice/rice-equivalent :	180 kilograms per capita.

Such production figures have become possible only after efforts by both farmers and scientists to increase production. Considerable research and experiment has been made with different types of grain, with appropriate fertilisers, with the possibility of developing dry-field rice which would be suitable for mechanisation, with new maize varieties which have extraordinarily high yields. Many farming communities have already become fully conscious and appreciative of the need for increased production. It goes without saying that these efforts will be continued, and that we can be sure of the advantages they will bring.

Further, the total cultivated area throughout the country amounts to 12 million hectares, of which 5 million hectares is wet rice-fields, the remaining cultivation being on dry farming land. The production targets for 1965 cover many foodstuffs besides rice, including maize, root-crops, sugar, different varieties of beans including soya, peanuts, lentils, etc. Efforts are also being made to increase the area under cultivation, but this question has its own problems, such as the removal of farming communities and the like.

And, of course, as with all agriculture, there is another side to this picture. In 1963, some parts of the country lost as much as 20 per cent of the expected harvest

Coconuts being husked on stakes driven into the ground. The dried flesh becomes copra and is used for edible vegetable oils and fats, for soaps and cosmetics and as animal fodder. The fresh nuts are sold locally, since the flesh and the milk extracted therefrom are ingredients in most Indonesian dishes, whilst the water from a young nut is a most refreshing drink.



because of the long and heavy drought; other parts of the country, and sometimes the same parts, suffered heavily because of a plague of rats. Although it appears that 1964 will be a year of good harvests, some plant pest or some natural disaster could change this picture almost overnight.

There is also another aspect to the estimated rice/rice-equivalent produced in 1964. The rice accounts for only one-half the total weight of production of all staples, and the question arises as to whether the population will mix their staples to this extent in actual practice. This is not only a question as to whether people accustomed to living from a single staple are now prepared to live from two or three, regularly, and not casually; any reluctance there may have been in this respect is succumbing to proper information. But it is also a technical question into the bargain.

For instance, with regard to maize: the mills which hull and husk rice-grain to make it ready for the consumer cannot treat maize to make it suitable for cooking with rice or as a rice substitute. And yet again, maize does not cook in the same way as rice, so that many housewives need informing as to how to cook it. Clearly, none of these things need be outright obstructions; they are merely matters which need to be kept in mind and over which appropriate action should be taken. However, until that appropriate action has been taken everywhere, it may not be possible to reach the desired objective, or not as fully as possible.

And there are other matters which call for deeper understanding.



Drying out the harvest. Unless the grain is thoroughly dried after harvesting, the sheaves cannot be stored and the grain will not keep. Threshing, winnowing and husking the grain are often done by hand in the villages, but the sheaves are usually sent to rice mills for mechanical processing for city supplies.

Approximately 70 per cent of Indonesia's population are farmers, and can therefore be assumed to be setting aside from their harvests sufficient staples for themselves and their families. As the population of Indonesia in 1964 is about 103 million, there will be approximately 72 million head of population cared for in this fashion. Of the remaining 31 million, some 14½ million are civil servants and their families or members of the armed services or employees of vital concerns and their dependants, with some 16¾ million obtaining their livelihoods from other avenues. Although these are only rough estimates, the figures are adequate as a working basis. Some other factors need to be taken into account before we can read the whole picture, however.

Part of the government's effort to obtain greater welfare for its personnel is to make minimum rations of staples available to that 14½ million. As from September 1964 the ration was composed of both rice and maize, and, in distinction from past times, was made available only to personnel and their dependants living in large cities or "minus" areas; elsewhere, personnel received a monetary payment in lieu.

Again, one of the factors affecting distribution is price. In this, the price of rice is very important because, being the favoured staple of by far the greater part of the population, its price tends immediately to affect the prices of other foodstuffs on the local markets. In many areas, rice prices fluctuate considerably, falling during the plenty of harvesttime and rising during the scarcity of off-seasons. Because reasonable stability in rice prices means reasonable stability in food prices as a whole, the



Fish could supply a larger part of the Indonesian diet than it does, although it is already popular. Refrigerated craft, improved transport systems and further research into the habits of fish populations are needed to secure maximum supplies.

government tries to assist stability by purchasing rice during harvesttime and releasing it upon the local market when supplies are low in the off-season. Such releases are known in Indonesia as "rice injections".

Guaranteed supplies for government personnel and price stability are thus the two objectives of the government purchases of rice. For the 1964—65 year, government purchases will also cover maize and *gaplek* (dried cassava). It is intended to purchase minimum quantities of at least 400,000 tons of rice (of which 300,000 had already been bought by the end of September 1964), 207,000 tons of maize and 45,000 tons of *gaplek*. Where possible, all purchases will be made through Agricultural Production Cooperatives, but, where these do not exist as yet, the rice mills and other suitable middlemen will be used.

Since colonial times, there has been a government organisation charged with such purchasing operations; under the Republic various efforts have been made to increase its efficiency and effectiveness, including experiment with both a centralised and a decentralised structure. The present Foodstuffs Council has been organised in the light of these previous experiences.

The Council itself is a top-level body, chaired by the Second Vice-Premier, Dr Leimena, who is concurrently Co-ordinating Minister for Distribution, and with a membership of twelve Cabinet Ministers who have to do with the various aspects of the production and distribution of foodstuffs. The Council is a policy-making body, with a Foundation as its implementing agency that has headquarters in the capital and branches in different parts of Indonesia. Under the direction of the Council, the implementing agency deals with stocks of food throughout the country, buying and selling, seeing to transport and processing, to storage and distribution to the consumer.

Apart from the continuing need to increase production, probably the two most important problems that have to be solved by this agency are those of storage and shipping.

One of the stipulations of the Economic Declaration is to build up an "iron stock"

of rice, from which to draw in emergencies caused by natural disasters (drought, flood, volcanic eruption, etc.), and by off-season market shortages. Proper silos are needed for this purpose in various parts of the archipelago. Apart from the village barns — which, in any case, not every village possesses even today — the storage capacity in proper silos is still not sufficient, and, because it is not yet evenly distributed, some areas are unable to store any of their surplus locally.

Shipping is, perhaps, the most recalcitrant of problems, for, since there are 6000 inhabited islands in Indonesia, shipping — with the accompanying facilities of harbours etc. — is, of necessity, the fundamental basis of transport. More than half the total capacity of inter-island shipping is that of small, privately-owned vessels, many of them without engines. They are of the greatest service where there are no harbours and they can be, and have been, mobilised to meet emergencies. The capacity of other shipping is still inadequate for inter-island needs and there are also the complicating factors of lack of harbours, difficulties in turn-around, the lack of adequate communication facilities and so forth.

Experiences with the charter of shipping for imports has taught Indonesia the weaknesses of this procedure. It has often happened with charter vessels that no compensation was made for damages and losses, whilst no opportunity was given to recover the rather considerable amounts of grain spilt in holds during loading and unloading. Some of the reasons for the high-handed attitude are probably political, in spite of the appearance of merely "wringing out the extra penny" — most of the vessels for charter in this region are British. It is clear that Indonesia must own its own ships and, bit at a time, the country is both buying from overseas and building in its own domestic shipyards.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties and still unsolved problems, however, it is evident that Indonesia is already on the verge of being able to cope adequately with them. Production still needs to be raised, not only to fill the rising demands of the increasing population, but also as a safe-guard against emergency, and to ensure

Madura is renowned for such cattle, shown here waiting for shipment to Surabaya. Since the traditional menu does not call for dairy products, cattle have been regarded mainly as a source of meat in the past, if they have not been intended to draw a plough or cart. With modern attention to mother and child care, however, the production of fresh cow's milk is on the increase.



distribution in time to all parts of the country, as well as to secure a more even distribution. All the problems of distribution and supply need to be tackled with a little more determination, an improved organisation, with increased and better transport. But already, all the indications point to the fact that it is even now possible for Indonesians to feed themselves from their own resources.

These are the reasons why, in this Independence Day address, President Sukarno called for the help of all parties to see that no new contracts are entered into for rice imports. "Vary your diet!" the President said. "Stand on our own feet in the field of food!"



Indonesian fruit on display for an international conference.



Tambak, the ponds of the fish farmer. Java is the home of the artificial cultivation of fish, both fresh and salt-water varieties. Besides the use of such ponds as these, spawn are also "sown" in the paddy fields with the rice seedlings and are then "harvested" when the fields are dried out preparatory to gathering the rice harvest.



From school days onwards, boys and girls share rights and responsibilities. These high school children are harvesting the rice from their school's own paddy fields which help to support the teachers.

WOMEN AND REVOLUTION

In Indonesia the year 1964 might well be called the "Year of Women".

The specific character of 1964 does not lie so much in the fact that Indonesian women have been accepted in active and responsible participation in the nation's endeavours at nation and character building. For women had long ago already justified their place as worthy daughters of Indonesia through their conscious participation in all fields of activity.

The significance of 1964 for the Indonesian Woman is that, parallel to the increased progress and intensity of the Indonesian Revolution, the emancipation of women has developed to a higher level. Women have now reached the level of revolutionary progressiveness where, shoulder to shoulder with men, they move ever onward along the course of the Revolution. Indonesian women may justifiably be proud that, within a period of only half a century, they have reached the ultimate phase of the struggle for emancipation, wherein women and men together co-operate as partners in a synthesised and concerted effort to carry on the overall fight for a just and prosperous society, founded on Indonesian Socialism.

The mention of an ultimate phase points logically back to previous stages. And indeed, Indonesian women have gone through several phases in progressing from a suppressed and backward position at the turn of this century.

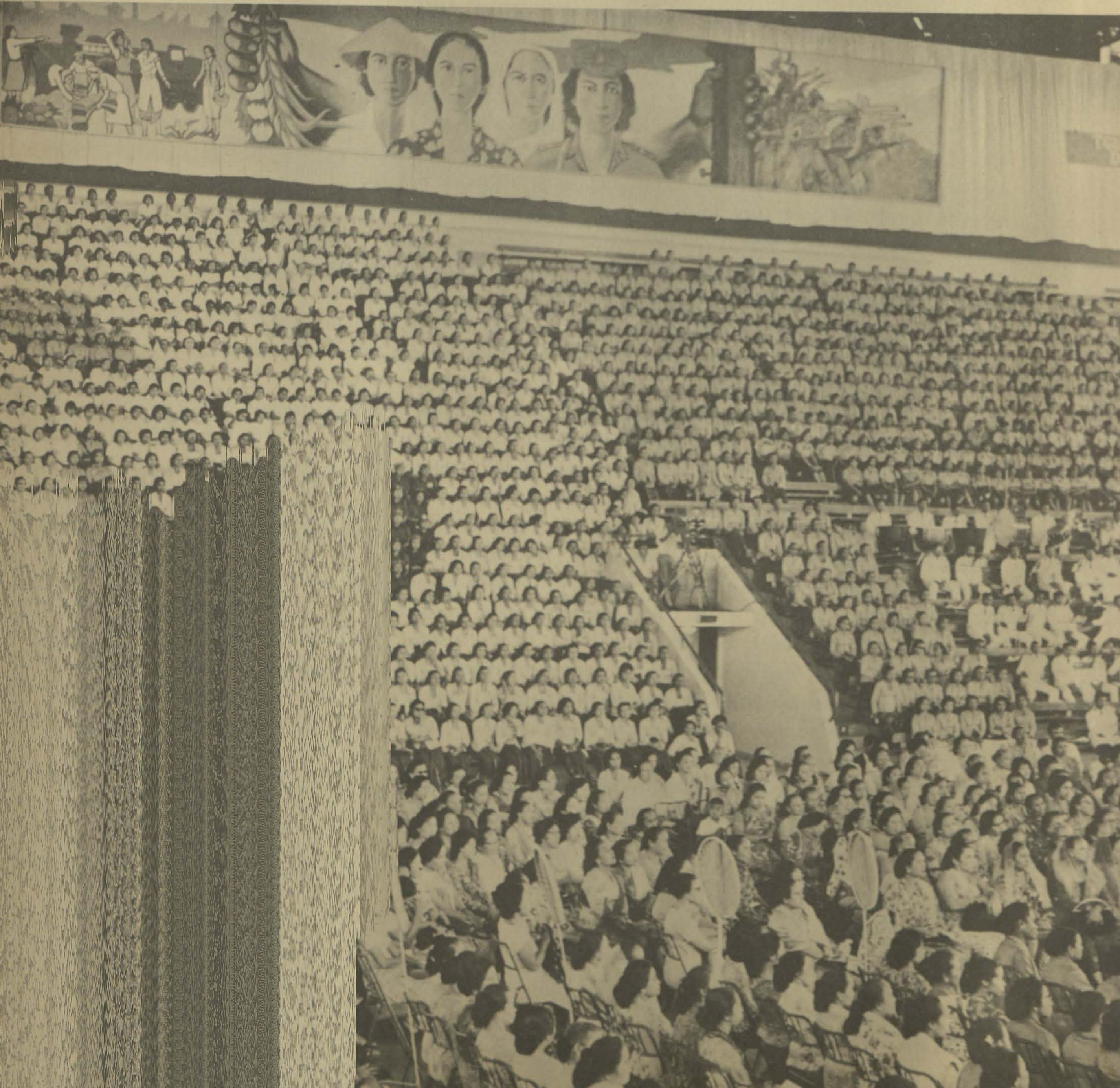
Viewing the phases consecutively, it can be seen that the women's struggle has been fought systematically in Indonesia. Or, to put it clearer in the terms of the Revolution, the fight has been of a progressive revolutionary nature, a struggle of which the cadence has accorded with the rhythm of the Revolution.

R. A. Kartini, in portraying the life of the Indonesian Woman as it was at the end of the nineteenth century, correctly typified this period as being one of "darkness". It was indeed all darkness around her, tied down physically and spiritually as she was by the traditional customs, which colonialism had maintained and fostered in its own interests. From childhood to womanhood, her activities were confined within the boundaries of family life. Spiritually, she was barred from any means of development. Even her destiny as housewife and mother was decided upon by others. This was the position of the Indonesian Woman up to the beginning of the second decade of this century, now half a century ago.

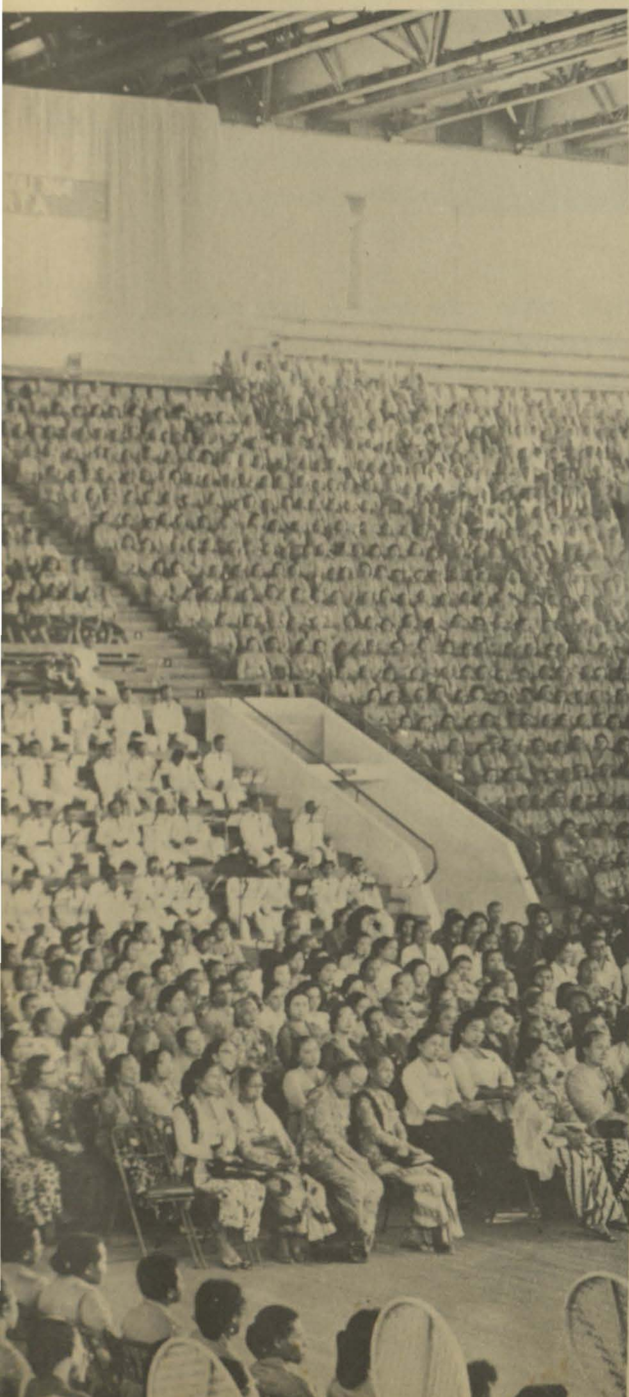
Inspired by the ideas and thoughts of R. A. Kartini as outlined in her book *Dari Gelap Terbitlah Terang* (From Darkness to Light), and influenced by the national

re-awakening, Indonesian women began to fight their way out of the enclave in which they were completely isolated from the active life of society. The Indonesian Women's Movement had begun.

Women's efforts, then individual in character, were at first aimed at the improvement of the woman's position as mother and head of the household. With the passage of time, their activities were extended to a larger scope so that the need for co-ordination and order was felt. As a result, the year 1912 witnessed the establishment of a women's organisation in Djakarta called *Putri Mardika,* with the primary aim of improving the education of girls. At Surabaya an organisation called *Puteri Budi Sedjati* was established in 1919 to:



The 1964 annual meeting of the Indonesian Women's Congress. e ten thousand women wore different coloured dress in order to int" the congress hall with the flower (seen left) symbolising lonesia's womanhood.



1. tighten the bonds of sisterhood through mutual help in both the material and the spiritual sense;
2. increase the intellectual capabilities of members by imparting general knowledge and teaching foreign languages;
3. develop knowledge of home economics so that, with expert knowledge in this field, the position of the women would be strengthened.

The following years gave evidence of increasing consciousness among Indonesian women, demonstrated by the numerical growth throughout the country of women's organisations of various kinds and ideological trends. In addition, special women's sections were set up in a number of general organisations.

On 22 December 1928 Indonesian women succeeded in holding their first Congress, which took place at Jogjakarta. The concluding resolution called for the formation of an association of women's organisations, the name of which later became *Perikatan Perhimpunan Isteri Indonesia* (Association of Indonesian Women's Organisations). Up till now the date of 22 December is celebrated every year as Mother's Day.

The first phase of the Indonesian Women's Movement reached its fullest development at this point: through the betterment of her personal conditions as a woman, the position of women was consolidated as a recognized part of Indonesian society.

Although this result in itself was no mean achievement, there were other aspirations which had yet to be fulfilled.

By the last years of the thirties, these aspirations manifested themselves in a



Whilst in colonial times it was unheard of for women to study science, they joined science faculties from the time of the Proclamation of Independence onwards. An early picture of such a woman scientist.

movement which more or less contained political notions: the desire to have a share in responsibility for the destiny of country and people, thus, the wish to have a say in matters pertaining to the administration of the country, in particular those matters dealing specifically with Indonesian women.

Two other Congresses were held subsequent to the first in 1928, and at the third one, held from 23 to 28 July 1938, these aspirations were enunciated in a resolution demanding the right to elect and to be elected. To hasten the fulfillment of this demand, many women felt the obligation to join political parties. However, it was only after Indonesia became independent, that this demand was fully complied with.

But independence brought new duties as well as new rights with it, and these women were the first to realise. They volunteered their services in all possible fields to uphold and to maintain independence. And with this struggle there began another phase, the third and current one, where the Indonesian Woman has achieved her place, side by side with her male fellow-citizens, in the service of country and people. Women have obtained a share in discharging responsible tasks in nearly every sphere of national activity.

In addition to the existing women's organisations which concern themselves mainly with matters of a social and cultural nature, women have set up organisations of a more political character.

A brief account of the coming into being of the first women's organisations after 1945 may throw some light on the character of the women's movement after the

proclamation of independence of the Republic of Indonesia, and on how Indonesian women have proved that they understand their duty as responsible citizens. It may also depict the spirit with which they have been imbued in conscientiously following the revolutionary trend of the national struggle. Finally, it may give proof of their national political consciousness which moved them not only to help strengthen the newly-proclaimed independence of the Republic but also to give substance to that independence through activities in the political, social, cultural and economic fields.

* * *

Persatuan Wanita Republik Indonesia (Union of Women of the Republic of Indonesia) or PERWARI, is an organisation resulting from an amalgamation of several women's associations which came together at Klaten (Central Java) in December 1945. The purpose of the Klaten discussions was to enable women to participate in activities to strengthen the independence of the Republic of Indonesia and to give substance to it. The gathering, which took the form of a congress, decided to amalgamate all women's associations with the same or almost the same principles and aim. The PERWARI thus established, has founded its struggle on Pantja Sila with the aim of attaining and preserving social justice in order to secure humanitarian principles.

* * *



At the other end of the scale of education, women, too, had to learn to read and write. Almost fifteen years have passed since this girl followed the anti-illiteracy classes in Tidore. There are no more anti-illiteracy campaigns in Indonesia, however for the country was declared free from illiteracy on 31 December 1964.



Women who volunteer for all-purpose service in the Dwikora drive to strengthen the resistance of the Indonesian Revolution and to assist the freedom-fighters of North Kalimantan, also receive basic military training.

Partai Wanita Rakjat (Party of Women of the People) first saw light in 1946 at Jogjakarta. Its establishment was motivated by the consideration that women with nationalistic aspirations were seeking a place in the political arena where they could fight for the fulfillment of their aspirations. The political guiding line of the party is Pantja Sila. Religious belief, democracy and nationalism form the basis on which the party stands. Its ideology can be summarised in the term "religious socialism", with which it strives for a socialist structure of the society wherein a happy life, spiritually as well as materially, is secured in an atmosphere of equality.

* * *

In Surabaya, East Java, the *Gerakan Wanita Indonesian Sedar* (Movement of Conscious Indonesian Women) or GERWIS, was set up in 1950 as an amalgamation of several women's organisations, on the grounds that the existence of a number of organisations with the same basic aim would only weaken the women's movement. The scope of the motivation was later on widened, so that amalgamation could comprise the unification and unity of women who were workers, farmers, intellectuals and business women. The struggle of the GERWIS, based on anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism, is aimed at a State of the Republic of Indonesia which is founded on people's democracy as the only guarantee for realisation of genuine national independence. It further strives after democracy, improvement of life, equality of rights and world peace GERWIS was the forerunner of today's GERWANI, which continues its work.

* * *

Wanita Demokrat Indonesia (Indonesian Democratic Women), an organisation set up in January 1951, introduced itself as an independent Indonesian women's organisation based on democracy in all fields (social, economic and political). It is not a party but an organisation with political aspirations which are contained in the ideology of socio-national democracy MARHAENISM. As such it has a particular outlook and takes action along the lines of its ideological principles. It therefore concerns itself with and follows state affairs in the political, social and economic fields. In political matters, its activities are aimed at the realisation of Article 27 of the Constitution concerning equal rights for citizens, including the right to work and to a living befitting for human beings. In the social-economic life it tries to make women, and the people in general, independent through social activities. As for the economic sphere, it seeks to find ways and means whereby women, and the people in general, can earn their own living. This organisation has recently changed its name to *Wanita Marhaen.*

* * *

These organisations, together with others, totalling forty throughout Indonesia, are affiliated through KOWANI (Indonesian Women's Congress), a contact body in the form of a federation with fairly loose ties binding its respective member organisations horizontally. Today KOWANI is a truly huge organisation in which all aspects of the activities of Indonesian women are represented through one or the other affiliate.

These efforts have certainly contributed to the consolidation of the political position of women, and when in 1955 the first general elections took place, women campaigned as actively as men.

Writing about the Indonesian women's movement is not complete without mentioning President Sukarno's contribution in the form of his book, *Sarinah,* which was written at Jogjakarta in 1948. *Sarinah* contains the guiding lines for work and indicates the incentives for Indonesian women to increase the spirit of national political consc ousness, with which to follow conscientiously the course of the Revol-

During the training from which these women volunteers — wives of officials from the Department of Foreign Affairs — have graduated, they followed courses in political matters, including the State's ideology and the history of the Nationalist Movement, in basic military knowledge, including psy-war and intelligence, first aid, the conduct of public kitchens, defence of the state, and in additional training, including Red Cross work, fire brigade work, community development, etc., etc.



ution. The book also explains how to develop the revolutionary progressiveness which has characterised the whole Indonesian struggle as from its start. It is for these reasons that since its publication, the growth of the Indonesian women's movement has moved along the road pointed out by President Sukarno in *Sarinah*.

Nowadays it is not rare to find women holding responsible posts in various fields of administration. Women form part of various organs of state, such as the Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat Gotong Royong, the Madjelis Permusjawaratan Rakjat Sementara — in both of which women form ten per cent of the total membership — and the Supreme Advisory Council, while in the Cabinet 2 seats, those of Social Affairs and of Basic Education & Culture, are occupied by women.

The capability of which the Indonesian Woman has given proof in executing the tasks entrusted to her, has not escaped the attention of the Indonesian public. Apparently this is one of the reasons why the assignment of women to any task in any field, has been met with sincere appreciation, by men in particular. The Indonesian community has grown truly receptive with regard to the share given to women in the sphere of nation building.

Until a couple of years ago the military sector was the sole domain of activity which was exclusively reserved for men. The Police Force was the first among the armed apparatus of state to break with this tradition. Policewomen were the pioneers in armed service, and have been successful in all respects. This has opened wider prospects for the national effort in Character building. Branches of the Armed Forces followed suit, so that today the presence of women officers in the Air Force, Navy and Army is a common sight.

In the course of 1964 this particular aspect of the life of Indonesian women was highlighted by women's spontaneous reaction to the issue of the DWIKORA call to increase the resistance of the Indonesian Revolution and to assist the people of North Kalimantan in their struggle for national freedom and independence. Women from all walks of life, women in the civil service as well as in private business and activities, women in various organisations, in short, women throughout the country have heartily responded to the appeal for voluntary service within the framework of the DWIKORA.

The Indonesian Woman of today as a member of society, as a responsible citizen of the country, as comrade in arms of the man, has justified President Sukarno's statement: without the Indonesian Woman it would not be possible to consummate the Revolution.

Considering this statement against the background of the history of the Indonesian Women's Movement as given above, one must conclude that women and Revolution have had much to do with each other in Indonesia.





Ever since the Proclamation of Independence, women have held positions amongst the leadership of the State, not just for the sake of honouring women, but because their capacities indicated them for the posts concerned. This situation still continues, as the pictures on this page indicate.

The Minister for Social Affairs, Mrs Rusiah Sardjono, receives a contribution to a national drive from one of the women's organisations.

Mrs Artati Marzuki Sudirdjo taking the oath of office as Minister of Basic Education and Culture.

Mrs Hurustiati Subandrio, a prominent figure in her own right as well as being wife of Indonesia's First Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister, jokes with Dr Joseph and Madame Luns during their visit to Indonesia in 1964.





The new look of independent Indonesia extends far beyond the capital city. This new building houses the market at Serang, a West Java township.





The headquarters of the GANEFO Federation were used as conference chamber by the Meeting of Ministers to prepare for the Second African-Asian Conference.



The swimming pool in the Bung Karno Sports Ground, Djakarta, which has been the site of both the Fourth Asian Games and the First Games of the New Emerging Forces.



The Thomas Cup, symbol of the World's Badminton Championship for men.



President Sukarno congratulating the leaders of the successful Tjenderawasih Expedition which scaled Puntjak Sukarno, the highest mountain in Indonesia. Left, with Lt-Colonel Azwar Hamid, leader of the expedition; below, with Mr Tayan Kato, leader of the Japanese team and experienced climber.



WORLD CHAMPIONS THREE TIMES OVER

Badminton is a popular sport in Indonesia, both as a game to play and as a game to watch.

Small children knock the cocks around, improvising rackets and foregoing nets and courts until teen-age dignity requires a proper game. Open blocks of land, back-yards, and even lanes between houses are measured out for use as neighbourhood courts, and here, in the cool hours of the late afternoon, everyone gathers who wants a game, and passers-by stop with a critical eye upon style or a word of praise for someone's prowess.

Such scenes as these have been common throughout the country for several decades. Villagers can improvise the equipment, and young people took to the game for fun.

It is with this situation as background that badminton has risen to occupy today the place of one of the country's leading sports. Modern badminton is a game far removed from the Battledore and Shuttlecock considered suitable for young ladies of Victorian times. It is a very fast game calling for high skills and stamina and, thanks to the lightness of the cock, for great nicety of judgement and considerable dexterity in driving, dropping and smashing the small feathered ball.

As in all other countries, sports in Indonesia are more than just fun, no matter how great the element of enjoyment for the participant. Sports train muscles, make for health and develop character. And for these reasons, since independence Indonesia has been concerned with promoting sports.

To the Republic of Indonesia, sports are a useful vehicle for building a nation out of a people oppressed for centuries. Train for health, and the disciplines learnt will

The President, the Team and the Cup. (Simpati Photo)





So important are sports considered for nation building and character building that a place was given to sports on the Pantja Sila poster painted to honour the nineteenth anniversary of the birth of the philosophical basis of the State.

do much to withstand debilitating disease. Train in teams, and the team spirit will help contribute towards national unity. Train to struggle for victory and to take defeat as a call to further effort, and the sporting spirit will help the nation build resolution and resistance. So sports were promoted and sports associations aided.

The first national sports festival was held in Solo, in Central Java, in 1948, notwithstanding the colonial war and the pressure from a severe economic blockade and the heightening threat of another major military attack upon the Republic.

The first PON – Pekan Olah-raga Nasional, National Sports Week – was followed by a second. And that was followed by yet others until, in 1964, there had been five such festivals, each one in a different city through all the major regions of the country, so that enthusiasm for sports and sporting events spread far and wide.

Teams were sent abroad to contest international events, and foreign teams were guests in Indonesia. Standards were gradually built up and the Republic had teams worthy of participating in the Olympic Games in Finland in 1952 and of taking part in 1953 in the Second Asian Games in the Philippines.

Meanwhile, various kinds of sports associations had appeared with nation-wide organisations, including that for badminton. Realising that Indonesian standards were high in this sport, the association began making preparations for Indonesian teams to compete in world championships. In 1958, Indonesia was ready to challenge the world's greatest. A team was sent to Singapore, to contest the world championship for men, of which the Thomas Cup is the symbol and the prize.

After a hard struggle, the Indonesian were able to bring back the coveted Thomas Cup in great jubilation, thus ending the supremacy that had been Malaya's for some years past. Henceforth, the names of Indonesia's champions, Ferry Sonneville and Tan

Before its departure for Tokyo, the championship team was farewelled by Sports Minister Maladi.



Joe Hok, were to be honoured wherever badminton is played – fans would rush them for autographs wherever they went, while their style of play would be a model for aspiring players the whole world over.

With the world championship as encouragement, badminton became ever more popular in Indonesia. Here and there, women players began to reach the level where they, too, might compete for the world championship and the Uber Cup – a prize which has not yet fallen to their hands, however. And, in preparation for the challenge to come in 1961 to the male champions, the matches for which were to be held in Indonesia itself, even greater attention was paid than before to their training and that of promising newcomers.

A covered sports hall was being built in connection with the holding of the Fourth Asian Games in Djakarta in 1962, and it was decided to complete this in time for use in the Thomas Cup matches, which would be the first world championship ever to be contested on Indonesian soil.

With these circumstances added to the thrill of international matches, it is only natural that enthusiasm ran high in Indonesia. Throughout the course of the contest, it can be said that the nation's radios were tuned in to the running commentary on every single game, whilst the ten thousand seats in the Senajan Sports Hall were packed to overflowing. So accustomed did Djakarta's ears become to the terminology of badminton during this period, that "smash", "hit", "drive" and "drop" became terms of conversation for application to any matter under discussion.

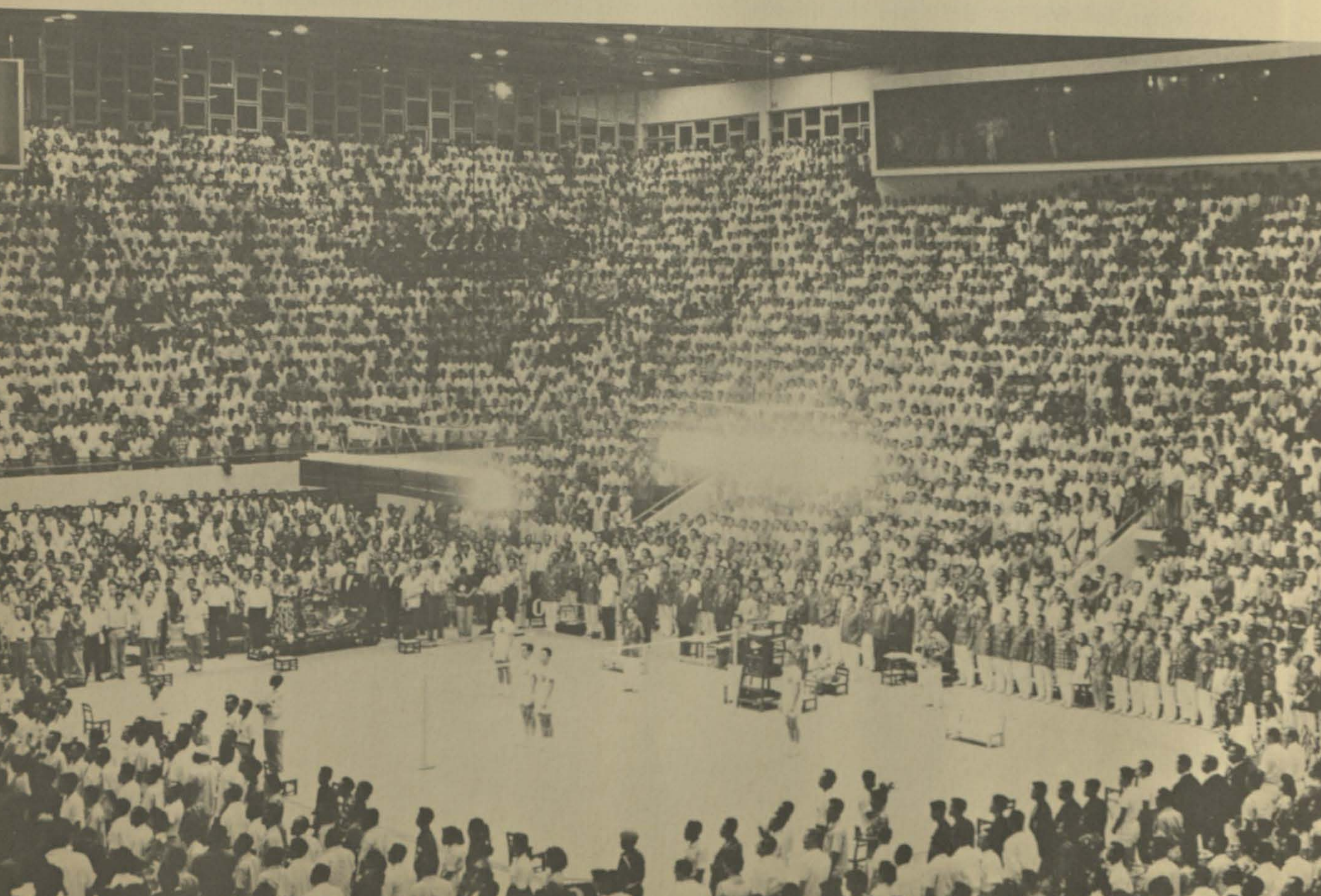
The matches themselves were strongly contested, especially by the Finns and the Thais. But again Indonesia was successful, and for the second time in succession the Thomas Cup was held by Indonesia.

Indonesia's stand that politics cannot be divorced from sports came to the fore with the Fourth Asian Games, when Indonesia was unjustly accused of unfairness and of unsportsmanlike acts over the non-participation of Taiwan and Israel, and was penalised by the International Olympics Committee on this account. Realising, however, that the basis of all international relations must inevitably bear the impact of the world struggle of the new emerging forces against the old established order, Indonesia advocated that international sporting bodies should release themselves from the domination of supporters of the old order of the world, who still practise discrimination against the sportsmen and athletes of countries opposing their domination and exploitation.

It was in this connection that Indonesia organised and held the GANEFO, Games of the New Emerging Forces, in 1963. This challenge to their authority aroused the anger of certain groups in international sporting bodies, who then threatened that they would not accept in international matches any players who had taken part in the GANEFO.

It was in this atmosphere of heightened tension that Indonesia began to prepare to face the badminton championship matches in Tokyo in mid-1964. This was to be the third consecutive world championship to be faced by Indonesia's crack players, and it was realised that, though their skill and experience would count for much, it might well be that their increasing age would be detrimental.

The end of the championship matches in Djakarta's new Senajan Sports Hall, where Indonesia won the Thomas Cup for the second time in succession.





Suburban roads were crowded when the champions went on a victory drive around the capital.

Conditions for sports had greatly changed in Indonesia, however, in the six years since the Thomas Cup had first been won. There was now a separate Department of Sports to assist sporting bodies with their organisational needs and to arrange for coaches to train top-level sportsmen and athletes. Further, the Bung Karno Sports Ground had been completed in Djakarta, so that the capital was fully equipped with sports venues, training grounds and accommodation suited to olympic standards. Many of the major towns throughout the country also possessed stadiums and sports ovals where champions might practise.

Apart from these material facilities, the government's own drive to promote sports had gathered momentum, and thus every possible encouragement was given players to obtain adequate practice and training. A second consequence of the government's drives, which had engendered wide publicity for sports through radio and press, was popular enthusiasm and public support. This was the background to the preparations made to face the 1964 challenge to the holders of the Thomas Cup.

The team had been carefully selected. In the first place, national championships had been held a year before in Macassar. From these matches a provisional national team was formed, which was then sent abroad to play a round of contests with players of international standing. The best available players were then given further training, including through competing in the GANEFO games. The final selection was thus the outcome of a process concluding only when the players were really fit, and the team could leave for Tokyo in the best physical and mental condition possible.

Nevertheless, the team left two weeks early for Tokyo, in order that the players would have time to settle into championship routine under the climatic conditions that would obtain. The popular send-off at Djakarta airport reflected the good wishes of the entire nation, and the team responded with a real win to win.

Even with all these advantages, however, the match was very hard-fought, and the outcome was by no means a foregone conclusion. The semi-finals had produced the Danes as challengers, and the crowds in Indonesia listening to the ball-by-ball broadcasts from Japan often had their hearts in their mouths. So great was popular interest that, throughout the length and breadth of Indonesia, almost nothing else was done

during the late afternoon hours when the championship match was being broadcast, save listening to the radio descriptions relentlessly recounting the play of ball after ball after ball. Every miss and every slip brought groans, every good shot and every point gained was greeted with joy.

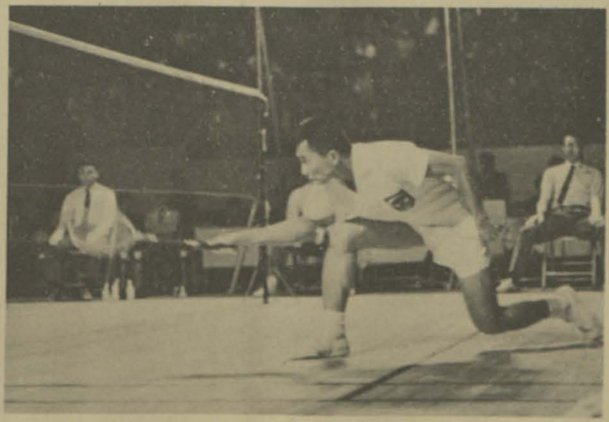
The game which sealed the championship was one many had doubted Indonesia's capacity to win, but, with the constant prayers of the nation and the great determination of the players, once more Indonesia kept the Thomas Cup. This was the third time in succession that Indonesia had been world champion.

When the jubilant team came home, the nation gave them a truly royal welcome. Congratulations poured in from all sides, not least from the government and the President himself, who received and honoured them personally. Around the capital they were driven, with cheers on all sides of the flower-decked cars. Their home towns went wild with fêting them.

But the festive mood of the team's homecoming, and the nation's pride in the success achieved, are not to be the occasion for ceasing further effort. "Onward! No retreat!" is a slogan fixed deep in the hearts of the people, and already preparations have begun to carry forward the nation's struggle in the field of sports. Already the badminton association has begun to make ready for the Uber Cup world championship matches for women in 1965–1966 and for the Second GANEFO Games in Cairo in 1967. Nor have sportsmen forgotten the need to prepare early for the challenge to the holders of the Thomas Cup which will come in 1967.

For a fighting nation there is no journey's end!

Indonesia's Tan Joe Hok. (Simpati Photo)





Ferry Sonneville, veteran playing captain of the team.



Facing north and crowned with snow, this mighty rock wall was the final challenge to face the sorely-tried and half-exhausted climbing amateurs who conquered it.

EXPEDITION INTO THE UNKNOWN

On 1st May 1963, when the administration of West Irian was officially transferred to the Republic of Indonesia, maps of the territory were white and empty for hundreds of square miles eastwards of Enarotali and to the north of the great snow mountains. Since March 1964, a large part of that empty space has been filled, thanks to the work of the Tjenderawasih Expedition, a combined endeavour by Indonesian and Japanese scientists and mountain climbers.

And, in addition, the highest mountain in Indonesia has been scaled.

The whole island of Irian is strongly marked physically by the high mountains running from east to west along its length. On the western side of the island, a range, approximately in the middle of the Indonesian half, rises abruptly to well over 16,000 feet above sea level, and is covered in perpetual snow. This range is called the Djajawidjaja Mountains, and it contains Puntjak Sukarno, which lies less than 5 degrees south of the equator and is the highest peak in Indonesia at about 16,500 feet.

Snow mountains in the tropics always attract attention and, in spite of the very great isolation of the area, there have been two previous attempts upon the range, one in 1936 by the Dutchman, A. H. Colijn, who climbed the Ngga Palu peak, over 5000 metres above sea level, and another by a New Zealand expedition in 1961 and 1962. These attempts, however, were made from the south along the "dip" of the strata and from the north-east where access is easier and there are more centres to act as supply bases. No attempt had yet been made directly from the north upon the huge rock-wall facing in that direction, and raised along the line where gigantic pressures have cracked through the rock formation and heaved one side some two thousand feet or more above the other.

The expedition consisted of two parties — the scientific team and the climbing party, in both of which, besides the Indonesians, the West Irian Scientific Expedition from Kyoto University, Japan, had members. The expedition consisted of 55 persons, including the Japanese party, and comprising scientists, university students, climbers, local government officials and guards. Besides these, as many as some 200 Irianese assisted as porters.

The Tjenderawasih Expedition — named after the bird of paradise — was thus the largest expedition since that to the South Pole.

The task of the climbing party was to scale Puntjak Sukarno, approaching first from Enarotali in the west and then from Beoga in the north, while the scientific party would make preliminary surveys along a route running over 150 miles almost due east from Enarotali — the same route that was to be used as a "march in" by the climbing party to their point of attack.

Enarotali lies in the mountains beside a series of three large lakes, roughly south-east of the great Tjenderawasih Bay which forms the "neck" of the "bird's head" making the westerly peninsula of the island. It is only during recent years that Enarotali has been brought into contact with the outside world; that contact is by plane, and by plane alone.

The whole region around Enarotali shows marked signs of the effects of earth movements and mountain-forming. It is believed that Lakes Paniai, Tage and Tigi, which lie at about 5750 feet above sea level, have resulted from a folding of the earth's crust across the course of the Arabu River, so that it could no longer join the Bedu, which flows north to Tjenderawasih Bay at Nabire. Enarotali itself seems to be at a geographical demarcation zone between two regions. To the east, in the region traversed by the Tjenderawasih Expedition, there is a distinct pattern of mountain range and valley running roughly N.N.W. to S.S.E. To the west of Enarotali this pattern is not to be found.

The terrain through which the Expedition moved is of such a nature that it took three weeks to traverse on foot the distance a Cessna plane flies over in an hour.

It is not only the heights of the mountains, the depths of the valleys and the roughness of the country that makes travel difficult. The rivers, flooding with the year-round rains, rush over boulders and craggy gorges, at times creating their own shallows with the silt they deposit; they cannot be used by boats. There are, of course, no roads. But there are faint foot-trails here and there, very seldom used at all. Overgrown with jungle vegetation, they are often difficult to distinguish and at times are obliterated beneath landslides. Great roots grow across them, to be climbed over or crawled under by passers-by, while thorned twigs and leaves lash the traveller, raising an itchy rash upon contact with bare flesh.

Within the distance of a few miles these trails rise and fall, up and down many times, with variations of height of as much as 2000 feet in a single day's march. Nearly always precipitous, whether up or down, they are often more mud than earth, and sometimes they are no more than water-courses draining the rains from the mountain sides above to the rivers below. Not only are the trails slippery under these conditions. In places the earth has become water-logged, so that men sink in up to the knee at every step, and at times there are stretches of swamp-land to traverse with water and slush chest-high.

In such country, it took the climbing party 5 days to travel the 28 miles from Enarotali to Homejo, 9 days over the 22 miles from Homejo to Ogimba, 3 days to

cover the 9 miles from Ogimba to Hitalipa, 4 days between Hitalipa and Beoga for less than 23 miles, and another 4 days for the stretch of some 20 miles from Beoga to the base camp at the foot of the range from which the climb was to be made. And these times do not include the days of rest or preparation found necessary at any of these stations!

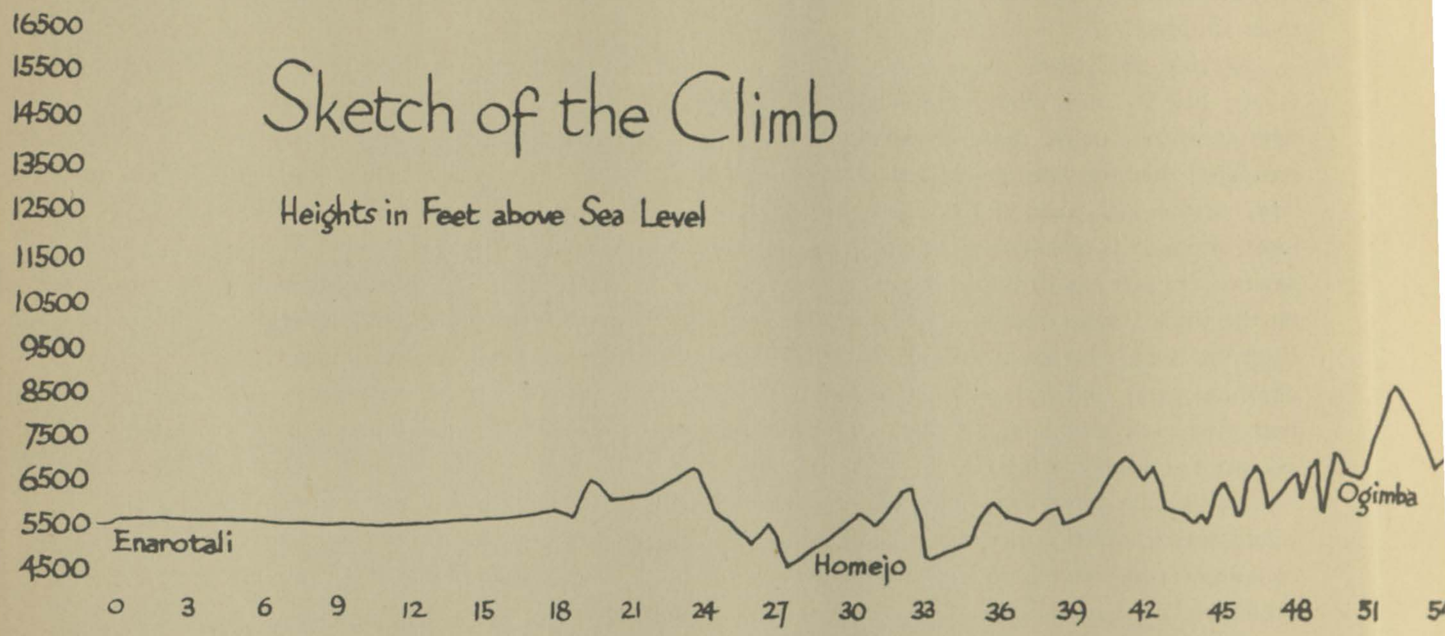
During this time, the party recorded only one day without rain; usually, it rained heavily after noon, sometimes continuing on in a steady downpour to the next morning; twice, more than 300 mm of rain were recorded for one day. It is estimated that the average annual rainfall — counting in the slightly less rain of the "dry" season — is around 3000 mm. Boisterous wind often accompanies the rain, but when the rain is not falling the air in the jungle is usually motionless. Further, since most of the way lies through tropical rain forest, what sunshine there was, often shone on the thick jungle canopy high above the heads of the party, with only a half-light filtering down through a million leaves in a dank, breathless air. Only once could the climbing party find flat, well-drained ground on which to pitch the tents; sometimes, tents had to be moved in the midst of a night-time downpour in order to secure them against a suddenly rising river.

With such conditions, most of the journey was made in wet clothes and sodden boots, which added much to the health hazards — not to mention the discomforts — of temperatures which, on the preliminary part of the journey alone, before the final attack on the snow range, dropped to as little as 9.9 degrees Centigrade (49 degrees F.).

Perhaps the biggest handicap which the expedition had to suffer, however, was shortage of food and a diet that seldom varied at all from three items: rice, canned corned beef and tinned sardines. Partly, this was because of a disastrous miscalculation of times; the preliminary survey of the route made by two Japanese scientists had led them to believe that 6 days would be sufficient for the march in from Enarotali to Beoga, whereas in fact it took three weeks. But in addition to this, the lentils, beans, milk, canned fruit and other foodstuffs ordered for the venture either accumulated in the wrong places, partly because of a change of plans by the expedition itself, or else it did not arrive at all because of the remoteness of the area. Air-drops of food were made only to the climbing party, and then only in the very last days of its attack upon the heights.

For these reasons, even the climbing party could get only 1500 to 3000 calories per day, whilst their undertaking called for between 3500 and 4500 calories daily. A gift from the Japanese, reserved for this purpose, helped the climbers get adequate food when the actual climb was being made.

Most of the time, therefore, members of both parties went hungry, and it is a wonder that no serious damage to health ensued. There were some cases of temporary exhaustion, cured by a day or so's rest; there were two minor accidents caused by the explosion of kerosene stoves; cuts and scrapes, sprains and colds accounted for all the other ills traceable to the expedition.

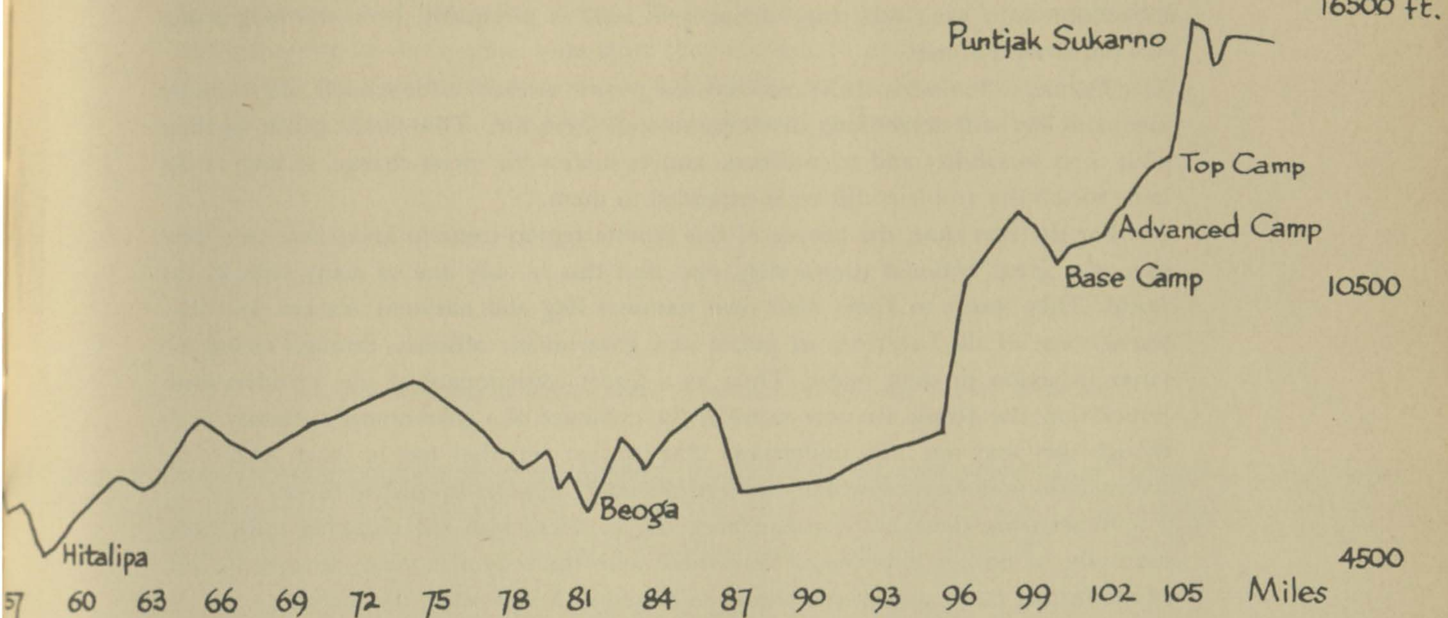


Work of the Scientific Expedition

The scientific surveys made covered topography, meteorology, geology, botany, zoology, ecology and agriculture, anthropology and health. Forty-four days were spent in the field by the scientific party. Although only preliminary surveys were attempted, partly through lack of time and partly through being unable to carry more equipment, the results are of considerable value.

In the first place, of course, these surveys indicate the matters upon which, and the places at which, more intensive investigation needs to be made. Apart from this initial step, without which others are not possible, a number of positive advantages have accrued, even though these are necessarily more of the nature of working information rather than of scientific findings.

It is now known that the vegetable world rules this region. Neither men nor beasts, birds, fish or insects abound. In general, there are three areas of human settlement, situated in valleys lying mainly north of the route taken. There are no less than five peoples to be found along the route over which the expedition travelled, each with



a language or dialect of its own; nevertheless, in spite of these distinctions, the pattern of their lives, as agricultural people, differs little from one to the other.

Pigs are the only domestic animals known to the people; there is no native herbivorous animal. Possession of the pig is a sign of wealth and the flesh is eaten only at feasts. Lack of protein is the most noticeable feature of the people's diet, which is mainly dependent upon a single variety of sweet-potato. Although there are two salt-water springs in the region, the salt produced does not contain any iodine, and hence goitre is a frequently-met complaint amongst the population.

That it will not be difficult to introduce new crops and new methods was made abundantly clear by the fact that the population is already welcoming whatever the few mission stations in the area can introduce.

It is also evident that it will not be difficult to encourage social advance amongst the peoples of the region. In spite of all the trials and hardships, especially the lack of food, which all members of the expedition experienced, including the Irianese porters and helpers, there was never once the least sign of hostility from the Irianese towards members of the expedition. On the contrary, their behaviour proved that their ways

are as much characterised by friendliness and hospitality as is true of the other peoples of Indonesia. On many occasions, volunteers came forward to assist in the strenuous work of porterage, and on more than one occasion gifts of vegetables — from people who were themselves in short supply — put new heart into the members of the expedition who were suffering, mentally as well as physically, from too long a diet of canned food alone.

Thanks to the work of the missions, the people already value schools and scientific medicine and will travel long distances to seek them out. This factor, taken together with their sociability and friendliness, assures success for social change, so long as the same sociability and friendliness is extended to them.

For the first time, the people of this remote region came to know that they were part of a great national community, and that this is only one of many such in the world. They learnt to know their own national flag and national anthem, and they learnt some of the functions of police and government officials, through seeing the latter in action in their midst. Thus, as a direct consequence of the Tjenderawasih Expedition, the people are now aware of the existence of a government authority, even though they may not fully understand that concept yet; they feel in touch with other Indonesians and they know that the outside world is well-disposed to them.

In securing these last consequences, the contacts with the climbing team were, naturally, of no less importance than those with the scientific team, though the task of the former party proved the harder to accomplish and much the longer.

Conquering Puntjak Sukarno

The climbing party started with a major handicap: none of the Indonesian members had ever been on snow before, nor did they have mountain-climbing experience! Therefore, without the help and guidance of the experienced Japanese members of the party, it is by no means certain that the group could have been successful.

So far as the climbing party was concerned, the purpose of the "march in" eastwards from Enarotali had been merely to give the team time to acclimatise themselves before the actual scaling of the rocky peak began. But that was on the understanding that the "march in" would occupy a mere 6 days to reach Beoga.

When, however, it had taken 5 days to reach Homejo — one-third of the distance — and when information was forthcoming in that settlement about a shorter route running south-east from Homejo and Ogimba, it was decided to change plans. Homejo, not Beoga, would become the base of supply for the climbing party, and it would be from Ogimba, the settlement closest to Puntjak Sukarno, that the party would travel still further south-east to the Tugapa plateau just below the Puntjak Sukarno escarpment.

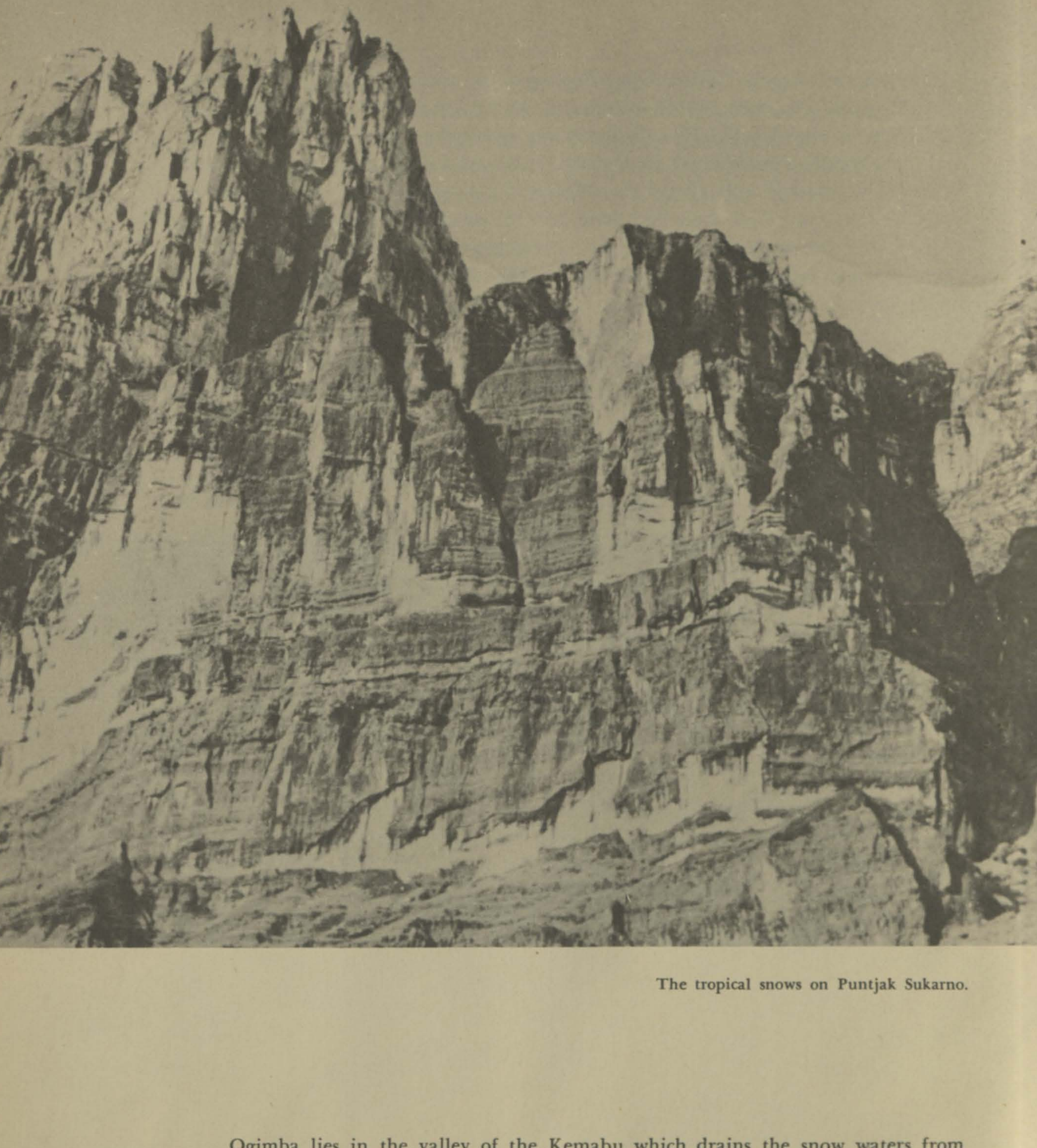
The feasibility of these plans was checked by a reconnaisance flight, with the result that the change was confirmed. The order was given for supplies to be removed

from Beoga to Homejo – bit at a time, because of the small size of the planes and the "suicide strips" on which they must land, but nevertheless as quickly as possible. Only the scientific team would follow the previously arranged route.

The climbing party set off for Ogimba. It proved a most gruelling journey, and Ogimba was reached only after 9 days. Twice, the team went over passes exceeding 7400 feet above sea level; there were more than the usual number of fantastic ups and downs, with the usual difficulties of the half-hidden trail to which the party was by now becoming accustomed. And Ogimba is less than 22 miles away from Homejo!

Limestone strata tipped sharply above an ice-cold but unfrozen lake at 13.000 feet above sea-level.





The tropical snows on Puntjak Sukarno.

Ogimba lies in the valley of the Kemabu which drains the snow waters from Puntjak Sukarno. During this part of the route, the party for the first time came across the limestone strata from which the snow mountains themselves are formed. It began to appear that the goal was close.

But it was also during this part of the journey that food deficiencies became so serious that, no matter how much the party tried to draw upon the rather scanty resources of the jungle — not many plants are edible — the team became half-starved. Even the Japanese group, whose supplies had been far more adequate and complete, was now forced to draw from the Indonesian rice supplies, since already the time for the "march in" was more than double what their advance party had calculated. In general, members of the party had by now lost 6 to 10 pounds weight, while some had lost even as much as 16 pounds. It was only thanks to the constant attention of the doctor that the party remained in good health.

After a day's rest at Ogimba, the local government officer from Enarotali, who was accompanying the climbing party, took a small group to prospect the way ahead, calculating to be absent for three or four days. But the party reappeared only on the sixth day thereafter, with news that they had not been able to reach the Tugapa plateau, and that the trail was so difficult, the cold and fog so intense, as to make

Tents under the flags of the two participating nations pitched at the foot of Puntjak Sukarno, with cloud and fog blotting out the towering rock wall above them.



porterage over it a practical impossibility. Once more plans had to be changed. It was decided to return to the original route and, after all, to make Beoga the supply base for the climb.

From Ogimba, the party would find its way north-east to Hitalipa, one of the points on the earlier Enarotali-Beoga route which had been appointed as a supply base, and from there to travel the same route once more as was taken by the scientific team.

At Hitalipa, it was suggested that the climbing party be flown to Beoga, but this proved impractical, since even the pilots who knew the small airstrip could not fly after about 11 o'clock in the morning, because from that time every day air conditions became chaotic in the mountain-surrounded valley where Hitalipa lies, closer to sea level by almost 1000 feet than Enarotali. Once more the party was forced to walk. Disgust at the confusion in plans, weary through lack of food and the hardships of the journey, the team christened the Enarotali-Beoga stretch "march in the mud".

Beoga proved to be a suitable base for the attack upon the snow mountains. But upon their arrival the climbing party had now to make fresh preparations, especially for food supplies, as well as planning the details for the journey of 24 miles between Beoga and Puntjak Sukarno. And, just when the climbing team was engaged on such plans, which were the initial steps towards achievement of the task set for them, the scientific team was in Beoga, with their task completed, their surveys made and ready to go home!

During the 8 days that the climbing party remained in Beoga finalising their plans, it was decided to establish a base camp on the southern side of the Kemabu valley, and from there to send teams up to higher camps, as might be required by the climb. Early in the morning before leaving Beoga, the party heard on the radio a message of encouragement from President Sukarno to the theme of "Ever onward! Never retreat!"

The trail out of Beoga was, if anything, even more slippery and muddy than before. But on the third day out, the team came to the end of the jungle country and into the region where only high-altitude vegetation of stunted trees and hardy scrub could grow. That night the party pitched camp at a height of over 10,600 feet above sea level, and it grew colder than it had ever been before. And the next morning at a pass above the Kemabu valley, at a height of 11,780 feet, the party caught their first glimpse of the snow mountains and the peak they were headed for. Just past mid-day, the climbing party reached their base camp on one of the branches of the Kemabu River, at a height just under 11,000 feet, where the temperature sank with night-fall to 3 degrees centigrade.

It was proposed to go from here to another camping ground higher up which had been used in 1961 and 1962 by the New Zealand expedition, to investigate a route up the rock wall, and then establish a suitable camp from which the final climb would be made. The members of the climbing party would be divided into the leadership at the base camp, a group of contact personnel, and the team which would actually scale

the peak. An earlier plan for a reserve group of climbers had already been abandoned at Beoga, because of the food situation and the problem of transport.

The climbing party proper consisted of four Indonesians and four Japanese. From shortage of porters each would have to carry a load of about 50 lbs., with the exception of the Japanese leader of the group, an experienced climber who was no longer young. Although this leg of the journey was only a little under 4 miles, it traversed three more tributaries of the Kemabu River and took the party up another 700 feet over broken and pitted limestone. From this time on some of the party suffered nose-bleeding and other symptoms caused by the altitude. On the second day in the advanced camp, the tents were snow-covered for the first time, while the temperature fell below freezing point.

Exploration in the area indicated that at least one further camp would be necessary in order to make the climb, and it therefore became essential that the porters work a shuttle back and forth from the base camp on the southern side of the Kemabu valley to bring up the food, tents and other equipment. A working schedule was prepared, allowing eleven days for scaling the peak and returning to base camp, with provision for a few extra days if the weather became bad.

To the east of the lake near by which the advanced camp was situated, there was a 700 foot cliff, thickly covered with dwarf trees. This the party scaled with great difficulty, and then, on the other side of a decline, came across two larger lakes. Skirting these, at last the party reached the foot of Puntjak Sukarno, rising in a sheer rock wall above them, and showing no signs of easy access. Here tents were pitched. Rain, fog, and freezing temperatures became the order of the day. The porters were sent back to the advanced camp.

Heavy rain and fog the next day prevented any activities, and also prevented a Dakota plane from sighting the base camp, even though it was given the position by radio. But on the following day, the plane came back and made a successful trial at dropping. That day, too, the climbing party prospected to the east of Puntjak Sukarno without finding any way up.

On the following day, travelling to the west, the party sighted the remains of a Dakota plane from sighting the base camp, even though it was given the position by ropes left by the New Zealand expedition of 1961 and 1962 in their attempt to reach the plane were still visible.

Further to the west again, at last the party sighted what they took to be the only hope of quick access to the snow-fields and peaks still above them. They came across a rift in the rock wall, filled with the scree of some landfall. Higher up, the way looked steep and its top was glacier filled. Nevertheless, this seemed the only chance. They determined to take it. And the next day they actually scaled the scree, used pick-axes and ropes for the rock face, and then set their unaccustomed feet upon snow for the first time.

Two and half months after leaving Enarotali, the climbing party was at last truly within grasp of its goal. Snow was at last under their feet; they were on the top of the

ranges, off to the west of Puntjak Sukarno. Yet victory was not to be theirs that day, nor for some days to come. Fog so thick came down upon the party that they were forced to retrace their steps and descend the perilous scree all over again. At that point, however, they stopped, determining to pitch camp there. Two members went back and brought tents. And in those tents, pitched at a height of over 13,250 feet above sea level, the party was forced by bad weather to remain inactive for two days more. And when the third day arrived two members were compelled by ill-health to drop out of the climb. The climbing group was thus reduced to three Indonesians and three Japanese.

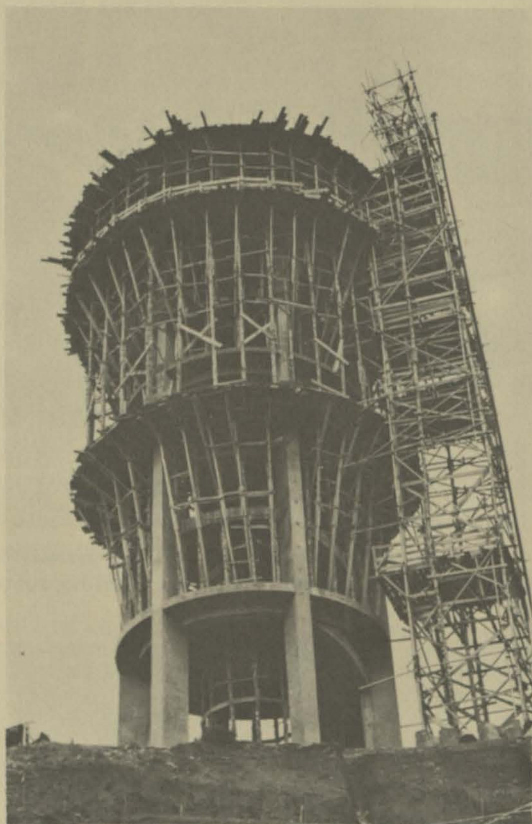
Once more they went cautiously up the scree; once more they scaled the rock wall; once more they walked in snow. And then they found a craggy gorge, with walls dropping down 300 feet, between them and their objective. Once more they had to return to camp.

Thus it was only on Sunday, 1st March 1964, that at long last the climbing group of six men eventually reached Puntjak Sukarno and the peak lying to the west of it. In both places an Indonesian flag was unfurled and weighted down to the snow by its four corners. In spite of their inexperience, in spite of all the hardships through which the party had passed, three Indonesians, an Irianese university student amongst them, had successfully climbed the highest point of land in their country.

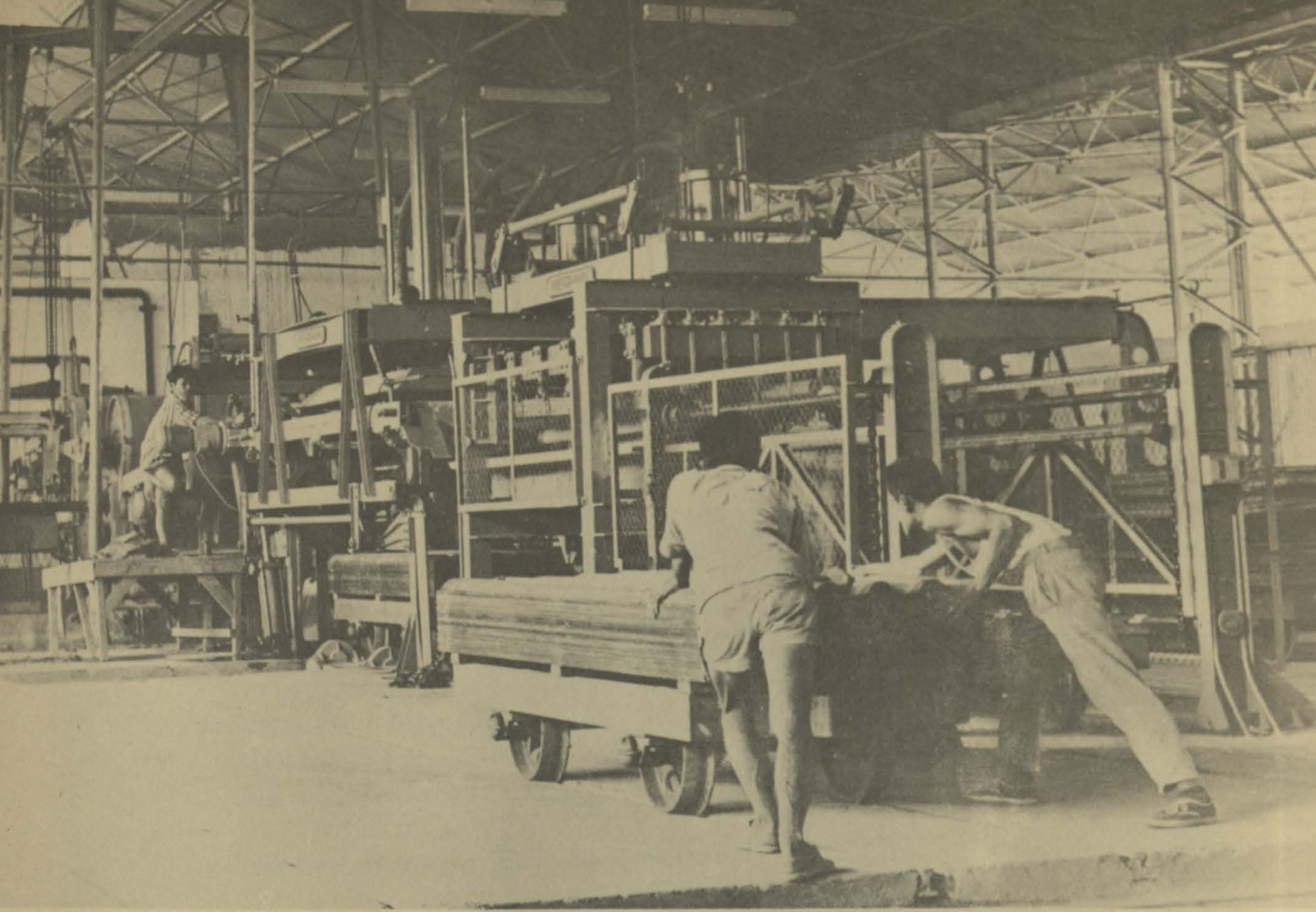
The task of the climbing party was accomplished. The Tjenderawasih Expedition had done what it set out to do.



Fred Athaboe, Irianese student of the Tjenderawasih University, West Irian, who joined the climbing party and scaled Puntjak Sukarno.



Telecommunications tower, West Java. Modern communication systems are needed in all parts of the country, whilst the opening of some parts, such as West Irian, is dependent upon them.



Many small industries are gradually making an impression. Above, fibrocement plant on the outskirts of the capital, West Java; below, remilling rubber, Sungei Putih, South Sumatra.



BASIC POLITICAL STRUCTURE

The Indonesian Constitution stipulates that the highest authority in the State is the MADJELIS PERMUSJAWARATAN RAKJAT (a people's deliberative council). Composed of representatives from all groups in society, including from the political parties, from all regions of the country and from the groups of organisations known as the "Functional Groups", the Madjelis exercises the People's Sovereignty in full and determines the broad lines of state policy for a given period of not longer than five years, thus deciding the general course or direction which the Republic is to take.

The Madjelis elect the PRESIDENT as its Mandatary to execute the policy it has determined. The President is, therefore, the Chief Executive. He enacts laws in concurrence with the Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat and is entitled to issue executory Regulations and Orders.

The DEWAN PERWAKILAN RAKJAT is a house of people's representatives which holds legislative power in concurrence with the President. All members of the Dewan are ex officio members of the Madjelis, and are thus in a position to ensure that the President executes his mandate carefully and well.

The COUNCIL OF MINISTERS (or CABINET) is composed of persons appointed by the President as his assistants. The Ministers lead the Government Departments. They are responsible only to the President, who has sole responsibility for all executive functions.

The SUPREME ADVISORY COUNCIL advises the President, considering matters he raises or taking its own initiative over an issue.

The GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS are the usual administrative organisations, most of which have regional offices.

These are the bodies stipulated by the Constitution to comprise the basic political structure of the Republic of Indonesia.

Out of consideration for "the dynamic of the life of Indonesian society and state" – explains the Elucidation to the Constitution – "only the fundamental rules alone must be laid down in the Constitution, whilst what is necessary for executing those fundamental rules must be left to statutes." This is the reason why the Constitution allows great flexibility even with regard to the basic political structure of the State.

PRESENT BODIES AND PERSONALIA

PRESIDENT

During 1963, the second session of the Provisional Madjelis Permusjawaratan Rakjat exercised its constitutional powers to appoint Dr. Sukarno President for life. But it is mainly by virtue of his role since youth in the Indonesian people's struggle for independence that Bung Karno continues also to hold an extra-Constitutional position of leadership, which is recognised with the title "Great Leader of the Revolution".

PROVISIONAL MADJELIS PERMUSJAWARATAN RAKJAT

Until the atmosphere of imported liberal democracy has vanished and the procedures of Indonesia's own democracy have stabilised, both the Madjelis and the Dewan are provisional bodies. Their membership was appointed by the President based upon advice from the Supreme Advisory Council and from the Functional Groups — a procedure which conflicts in no way with the provisions of the Constitution.

Chairman

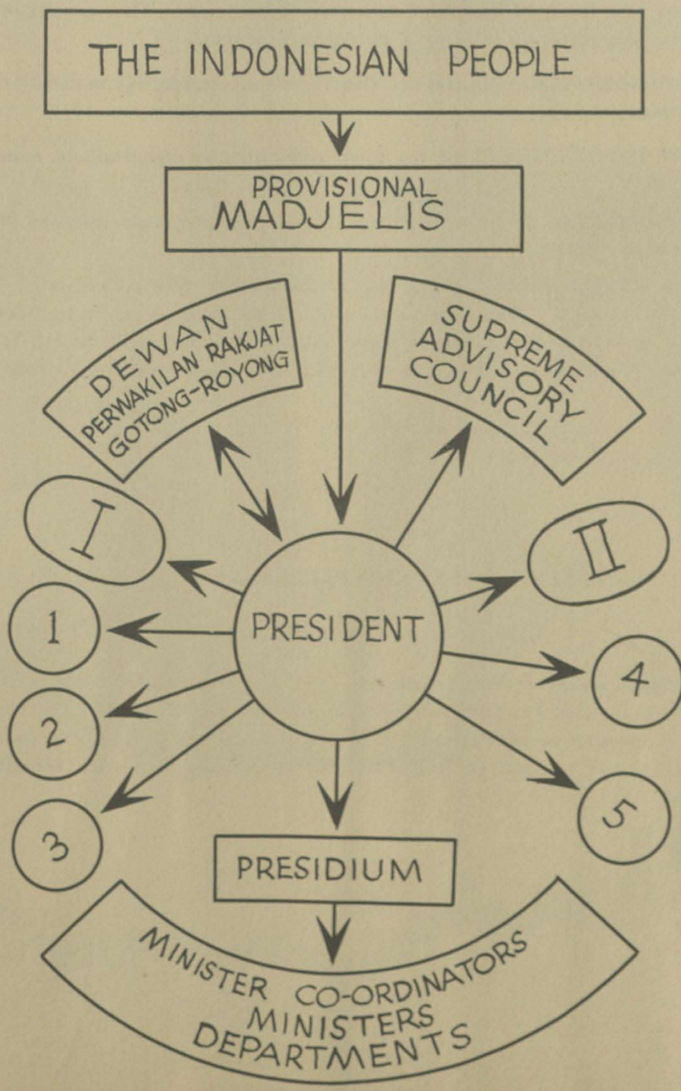
Chaerul Saleh.

Vice-Chairmen

Ali Sastroamidjojo, Idham Chalid, D. N. Aidit, Lt. Colonel Wilujo Puspojudo.

Total Membership

623, comprised of: 287 members of the Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat Gotong-Royong, 95 delegates from the 22 Regions, and 241 representatives from the 20 Functional Groups.



I. National Front
1. Supreme Operational Command
2. Supreme Command for Retooling the Apparatus of the Revolution
3. Deliberative Body of Assistants to the Leadership of the Revolution.

II. Agency for Planning National Development
and
Deliberative Body to Assist Planning National Development
4. Supreme Command of Operation Economy
5. State Defence Council

"DWIKORA" CABINET

The origins of the present Cabinet stem from the Council of Ministers appointed in the first instance in mid-1959. On three occasions since — the last in August 1964 — the Cabinet has been reorganised and reshuffled for the sake of greater efficiency and in order to bring it more into keeping with needs.

Prime Minister

Dr. Sukarno, President and Supreme Commander of the Armed Services.

Presidium of the Cabinet

First Vice-Premier: Dr. Subandrio.

Second Vice-Premier: Dr. J. Leimena.

Third Vice-Premier: Chaerul Saleh.

Ministers seconded to the Presidium: Oei Tjoe Tat, Njoto, Arifin Harahap, Police Brig. General Mudjoko, Police Commander Boegie Supeno, Brig. General Sukendro.

Ministers with the rank of Minister Co-ordinator

Minister for National Planning and Development: Dr. Suharto.

Minister/Chairman of the Leadership, Comptrolling Agency: Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX.

Compartment I: Foreign Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations

Minister Co-ordinator: Dr. Subandrio.

Minister for Foreign Affairs: Dr Subandrio. Minister for Foreign Economic Relations: Dr. Subandrio.

Compartment II: Justice and Home Affairs

Minister Co-ordinator: Wirjono Prodjodikoro.

Minister for Home Affairs: Major-General Dr. Sumarno. Minister for Justice: Achmad Astrawinata. Minister/President of the Supreme Court: Wirjono Prodjodikoro. Minister/Prosecutor-General: Colonel Sutardio.

Compartment III: Defence and Security

Minister Co-ordinator/Chief of Staff of the Armed Services: General A. H. Nasution.

Minister/Commander of the Army: Lt. General Ahmad Yani. Minister/Commander of the Navy: Rear Admiral E. Martadinata. Minister/Commander of the Air Force: Air Marshal Omar Dani. Minister/Commander of the Police: Inspector-General Sutjipto Danukusumo.

Compartment IV: Finance

Minister Co-ordinator: Sumarno.

Minister for Revenue, Expenditure and Inspection: Mohammad Hasan. Minister for the Central Bank: Jusuf Muda Dalam. Minister for the State Budget: Drs. Surjadi.

Compartment V: Development

Minister Co-ordinator: Chaerul Saleh.

Minister for Regulating Private Banks and Capital: J. D. Massie. Minister for Labour: Sutomo. Minister for National Research: Professor Sudjono Djuned Pusponegoro. Minister for Public Works and Power: Major-General Suprajogi. Minister for People's Industries: Major-General Dr. Azis Saleh. Minister for Veterans and the Demobilised: Major-General Sarbini. Minister for Basic Industry and Mining: Chaerul Saleh. Minister seconded to the Development Compartment: Ahem Erningpradja.

Compartment VI: Agriculture and Lands:

Minister Co-ordinator: Sadjarwo.

Minister for Agriculture: Sadjarwo. Minister for Plantations: Frans Seda. Minister for Forestry: Sudjarwo. Minister for Fisheries: Naval Commander Hamzah Atmohandojo. Minister for Lands: Rudolf Hermanses. Minister for Community Development: Ipik Gandamana.

Compartment VII: Distribution

Minister Co-ordinator: Dr. J. Leimena.

Minister for Trade: Adam Malik. Minister for Land Communications and Posts, Telecommunications, and for Tourism: Lt. General Hidajat. Minister for Sea Communications: Marine Major-General Ali Sadikin. Minister for Air Communications: Air Vice-Marshal Iskandar. Minister for Transmigration and Co-operatives: Achadi.

Compartment VIII: Welfare

Minister Co-ordinator: Hadji Muljadi Djojomartono.

Minister for Religion: Kijai Hadji Saifuddin Zuchri. Minister for Social Affairs: Mrs. Rusiah Sardjono. Minister for Health: Major-General Dr. Satrio. Minister for Liaison with Religious Leaders: Kiaji Hadji Abdul Fattah Jasin.

Compartment IX: Education and Culture

Minister Co-ordinator: Professor Prijono.

Minister for Basic Education and Culture: Mrs. Artati Marzuki Sudirdjo. Minister for Higher Education and Science: Brig. General D. Sjarif Thajeb. Minister for Sports: Maladi.

Compartment X: Communication with the People

Minister Co-ordinator: Roeslan Abdulgani.

Minister for Information: Major-General Achmadi. Minister for Liaison with the Madjelis, the Dewan, the Supreme Advisory Council and the National Front: Pastor W. J. Rumambi. Minister/Secretary-General of the National Front: Sudibjo.

Ministers of State, Advisors to the President

Minister/Advisor to the President/Prime Minister concerning "Funds and Forces": Notohamiprodjo. Minister of State seconded to the President: Professor Iwa Kusumasumantri. Minister/Military Advisor to the President: Air Marshal S. Suryadarma. Minister/Advisor to the President on Internal Security: Police General Sukarno Djojonagoro.

Officials with the rank of Minister Co-ordinator

Chairman of the Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat Gotong-Royong: Arudji Kartawinata. First Vice-Chairman of the Supreme Advisory Council: Sartono. Vice-Chairmen of the Madjelis: Ali Sastroamidjojo, Kiaji Hadji Idham Chalid, D. N. Aidit, Major-General Wilujo Puspojudo.

Officials with the rank of Minister

State Secretary: Moh. Ichsan. Secretary to Presidium of the Cabinet: A. W. Surjodiningrat. Second Vice-Chairman of the Supreme Advisory Council: Professor Sujono Hadinoto.

Vice-Chairmen of the Dewan: I. G. G. Subamia, M. H. Lukman, Naval Commander Mursalin Daeng Mamangung, Kiaji Hadji Achmad Sjaechu.

DEWAN PERWAKILAN RAKJAT GOTONG-ROYONG

A provisional body, as with the Madjelis. Given the epithet "Gotong-Royong" to distinguish the co-operative character of its relations with the Government.

Chairman

Arudji Kartawinata.

Vice-Chairmen

I. G. G. Subamia, M. H. Lukman, Naval Commander Mursalin Daeng Mamangung, Kiaja Hadji Achmad Sjaechu.

Total Membership

287, comprised of 130 representatives from the political parties, 152 representatives from the 20 Functional Groups and 5 representatives from West Irian.

OTHER POLITICAL BODIES OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

Other political bodies of the Central Government include the Supreme Advisory Council, which is an Organ of State performing the function of advising the President stipulated in the Constitution, and the National Front for mobilising the people, especially for development and other activities to fulfil some national need. There is also the Agency for Planning National Development which, together with its Deliberative Body to assist the Agency and ensure social support and social participation in both planning and execution, is charged with drawing up the plans for overall national development in conformity with the guiding lines and principles determined by the Madjelis.

Besides these bodies, the Central Government also has a complex of top-level organisations at its disposal; this group is comprised of:

Komando Operasi Tertinggi (Supreme Operational Command) to direct all kinds of drives required by the different phases in the course of the Indonesian Revolution;

Komando Tertinggi Retooling Aparatur Revolusi (Supreme Command for Retooling the Apparatus of the Revolution) to ensure that the various apparatus continue to be efficient and in keeping with needs;

Musjawarah Pembantu Pimpinan Revolusi (Deliberative Body of Assistants to the Leadership of the Revolution), to deal with questions affecting the course and conduct of the Indonesian Revolution;

Komando Tertinggi Operasi Ekonomi (Supreme Command of Operation Economy); with the stress of government activity on economic affairs, it was felt necessary to handle economic drives in a separate body and no longer in the Supreme Operational Command;

Dewan Pertahanan Negara (State Defence Council), for co-ordinating defence among all government bodies, both military and civil.

Co-ordination of the work of this complex of organisations is simplified because the leadership is approximately the same, being, in general, the top leadership of the State under the chairmanship of the President. Each body, however, deals with its own particular sphere, has its own staff and specialised experts to deal with questions in that sphere. All bodies reach decisions through the Indonesian procedures of *musjawarah* and *mufakat* — deliberation upon an issue to reach consensus of opinion.

All of these bodies which, even though they are not stipulated by the Constitution, conform with the requirements and the dynamic spirit of the Constitution, were created to fill needs arising in the conduct of government and in the course of the Revolution. However, because of "the dynamic of the life of Indonesian society and state", it is likely that they will be modified, disbanded or replaced as time goes on.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE
1963–1964

SEPTEMBER 1963

1. An Indonesian team left for North Kalimantan to observe the ascertainment of the wishes of the people there with regard to the British project for a "Federation of Malaysia". Established under the terms of the Manila Agreements between Indonesia, the Philippines and Malaya, the team, which was led by Brig. General Otto Abdulrachman, was able to observe only three day's work of ascertainment by the United Nations because of obstruction by the British.

2. Indonesia protested to the Malayan Government over its acquiescence in Britain's determination to establish the "Federation of Malaysia" on 16 September 1963, regardless of the findings about the will of the North Kalimantan people by the United Nations, and in spite of the undertakings given by Malaya in the Manila Agreements and subsequently.
Bolivian Ambassador, Marie Sanjines Uriarte, presented his credentials.

3. Hadji A. Sjaechu appointed Minister/First Deputy Chairman of the Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat Gotong-Royong.
Forest Engineering Institute opened in Bogor with the co-operation of F.A.O. and the West German aid programme for developing countries.

4. An Indonesian delegation, led by Ali Sastroamidjojo, left to attend the Inter-Parliamentary Union Congress in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, from 12 to 20 September 1963, and also to make goodwill tours in India, North Viet-Nam, the Soviet Union, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria.

5. Philippines Senator Manuel Manahan arrived in Djakarta for a 6-day goodwill visit.
Agreement signed with India to process S.A.C. cotton from the U.S.A., worth US $ 1,2 million, into about 12 million yards of cambrics.

12. Indonesian Trade Delegation, led by Sudiro, left for trade talks with the Philippines.

13. Brazilian fact-finding mission arrived in Djakarta to prospect wider trade.

16. Following the arbitrary proclamation by Britain of the neo-colonialist "Federation of Malaysia", mass demonstrations took place in Djakarta before the Malayan and British embassies. At the Malayan embassy the demonstrators were received and then left quietly, but British provocation so stirred the demonstrators that the British embassy was eventually entered and set on fire, but no loss of life occurred or damage to persons.
PERMINA Oil Academy, the first academy for training Indonesian experts in the oil industry, opened in Bandung.

17. The Kuala Lumpur regime broke off diplomatic relations with Indonesia.
Anti-Indonesian demonstrators in Kuala Lumpur burned and ransacked the Indonesian embassy.

18. Foreign Minister Dr. Subandrio left for New York to attend the United Nations General Assembly.
The United Arab Republic was requested to look after Indonesian interests in Malaya and Singapore.

21. The Indonesian Government severed all economic relations with Malaya, Singapore, Serawak and Sabah.

22. Indian Health Minister, Dr. Sushila Nayar, arrived at the invitation of the Indonesian Government to observe health and community development projects.

23. Cotton spinning contract signed with Japan under the S.A.C. agreement, covering 71,000 bales of cotton and valued at US $ 16,5 million.

25. Final contract embracing oil exploitation, and terminating earlier concession rights, signed between the Indonesian Government and foreign oil companies operating in Indonesia (Shell, Stanvac, Caltex). Foreign oil companies will now operate as contractors with Indonesian state oil companies holding the mining licenses.
Indonesian Trade Delegation visiting the Philippines underscored the agreement on expanded trade to the value of US $ 200 million, and signed an economic agreement to mutually co-ordinate copra production and marketing.

25. Indonesian cultural group left for China and North Korea to give a series of performances.

26. Japanese Premier, Hayato Ikeda, and party arrived in Indonesia for a 3-day official visit.

27. Contract signed with Italy under a credit of US $ 30 million for the purchase of spinning equipment.

29. Lt. General Josef Vashalo, Chief of Staff of the Czechoslovak Air Force, arrived for a 10-day official visit, during which he attended the Armed Forces Day celebrations.



This guest from the Soviet enjoyed the performance by the dancer portraying the Garuda eagle; he is Army General Epishey A.A., Member of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and Chief of the Central Political Board of the Soviet Army.

OCTOBER 1963

3. Academy of Sports, the first in Indonesia, opened in Djakarta.
5. Armed Forces Day celebrations, with march-past at Senajan and combined military exercises at Tjililitan.
6. General Leontin Salajan, Armed Forces Minister of the Rumanian People's Republic, arrived for a 2-week visit at the invitation of Minister/Commander of the Army General Ahmad Yani.
8. Indonesian Delegation, led by Minister for Basic Industries and Mining Chaerul Saleh, attended the Fifth Conference of Oil Products Exporting Countries in Geneva.
9. Algerian Delegation arrived for a 5-day goodwill visit to Indonesia.
10. Dr. Sjahbuddin Arifin sworn in as Indonesian Ambassador to Iran.
14. To facilitate the de-dollarisation of the Riau Islands, which had been using Singapore currency for some time past, Bank Indonesia opened a branch at Tandjung Pinang.
21. Djakarta By-Pass heavy-duty highway opened to carry traffic from the port to main roads leading out of the capital. The by-pass was constructed as a joint effort by the Indonesian Government and the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID).
26. In connection with the economic confrontation of neo-colonialist "Malaysia", it was announced that Sabang in Sumatra is to be a free port, while Belawan in Sumatra, Makassar in Sulawesi and Tandjung Priok, the port of Djakarta, are to have free trade zones.
28. President of the Federal Republic of Germany, Dr. Heinrich Luebke, and party arrived for a 7-day state visit. Preliminary Conference of Asian-African Workers opened in Djakarta. The Conference, to last until 2 November, was attended by delegates from the 8 sponsoring countries: Ceylon, China, Ghana, Indonesia, Morocco, Philippines, Soviet Union and North Viet-Nam.
30. Graduation Day of the University of Indonesia; during the 1962—63 school-year there were 639 graduations from the different faculties.

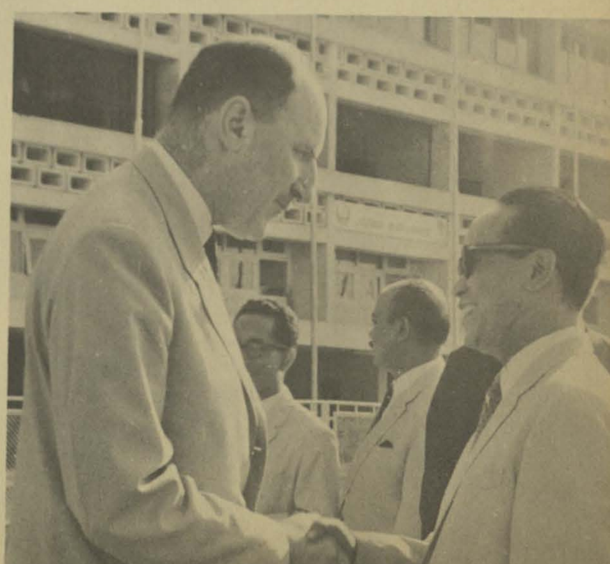


Australia's Minister for External Affairs, Paul Hasluck, being greeted by President Sukarno.



North Korean Parliamentarians visit the Solo Rehabilitation Centre.

Dutch Foreign Minister Luns leaves Indonesia after a friendly visit reciprocating that of Foreign Minister Dr Subandrio to Holland.





Scene in the Kali Bata Heroes Cemetery during the funeral of Dr Djuanda. President Sukarno by the grave-side.

NOVEMBER 1963

3. Trade Delegation from the Korean Democratic People's Republic, led by Li Il Gyung, Minister for Foreign Trade, arrived to discuss the expansion of trade relations. At the end of the 12-day visit, a treaty was signed between the two countries covering trade, scientific, cultural and technical co-operation.

4. Czech Ambassador, Emil Patek, presented his credentials.

7. First Minister, Hadji Djuanda Kartawidjaja, passed away, having been active in the leadership of the independent Indonesian State since its inception.
Opening of the "Friendship" Hospital at Rawamangun, Djakarta, donated by the people of the Soviet Union to Indonesia. The opening ceremony was attended by Soviet Health Minister Kurasjov.

8. Deputy Prime Minister of China, Marshal Ho Lung, arrived for an official visit at the invitation of Foreign Minister Dr. Subandrio.
Credit agreement signed with Japan for co-operation on a forestry development project.

Lake scene, West Irian.





Where the hills come d



to the sea. West Irian.



Night falls on the highway between the city and Kebajoran Baru, Djakarta Raya.

10. First GANEFO — Games of the New Emerging Forces, a new world festival of sports — opened in Djakarta, attended by teams from 51 different countries. Organised to strengthen solidarity between the forces seeking to build a new world without the domination of the old order, the 12-day festival produced four new world records. Indonesia was able to achieve second place amongst competing teams, with 21 gold, 25 silver and 34 bronze medals.

12. Seeking direct outlets for products formerly channelled through Singapore and Penang, an Economic Mission, led by Colonel Jusuf, left for East Europe and various Asian countries, including China and Japan.

13. General A. H. Nasution, Minister Co-ordinator for National Defence and Security/Chief of Staff of the Armed Services, and party left for a 3-weeks tour taking them to Moscow, Washington, Belgrade, Paris, the Philippines and Thailand.

23. Reshuffling and reorganisation of the Kabinet Kerdja (Working Cabinet) announced. President Sukarno remains Prime Minister, with Dr. Subandrio as First Vice-Premier, Dr. J. Leimena as Second Vice-Premier and Chaerul Saleh as Third Vice-Premier, who form a Presidium of the Cabinet to execute day-to-day work. The eight "Compartments" of the Cabinet, each led by a Minister Co-ordinator, reflect a re-grouping of government activities in order to obtain greater efficiency.

24. First GANEFO Congress opened in Djakarta, attended by delegates from 48 countries, which established a permanent organisation to ensure the successful continuation of this new world sports festival.

27. First Ambassador of Guinea, Camara Mamady, presented his credentials.
Cosmonauts Mrs. Valentina Tereskova Nikolayev, Nikolayev and Bikovsky arrived for a 10-day visit as guests of President Sukarno.

DECEMBER 1963

1. Admiral A. R. Khan, Chief of Staff of the Pakistan Navy, and party arrived on a visit at the invitation of Minister/Commander of the Navy, Rear Admiral Martadinata.

2. Soumokil, leader of the 1950 rebellion in the South Moluccas who had been able to continue at large through foreign assistance, captured in the northern regions of Ceram.
Czech Economic Delegation, led by Deputy Minister for Foreign Trade Ladislav Pesl, arrived in Indonesia to resume talks on economic co-operation between the two countries.

4. The Supreme Command of Operation Economy issued regulations providing for new ocean harbours for the export of local products, especially rubber, and for special coastal ports for import and export by oil companies, both government and private, and by Indonesian tin and bauxite mining enterprises.

5. During his visit to Yugoslavia, General A. H. Nasution was given assurances by President Tito and Defence Minister Ivan Gosnjak of support for Indonesia's stand vis-a-vis the neo-colonialist "Malaysia" project.

6. Hungarian Parliamentary Delegation, led by Mrs István Vass, Speaker of the Hungarian Parliament, arrived for a 10-day goodwill tour in Indonesia.

10. Ten officials of the Philippines Foreign Ministry arrived in Menado, North Sulawesi, to discuss implementation of the Border-Crossing Agreement reached with Indonesia.

14. U.S. Vice-Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Claude V. Rickets, arrived in Djakarta as guest of Minister/Commander of the Navy, Rear Admiral Martadinata.
Contract signed with Hungary for the purchase of railway rolling stock and spare parts.



Construction under way for the Tjilegon, West Java, steel rolling mills.

19. Foreign Minister Subandrio stated that Indonesia would pursue a "quid pro quo" policy against Britain in connection with the British Government's unilateral cancellation of contracts between private British companies and the Indonesian Government for radar installations in Bandung.

24. Second batch of Garuda III Battalion returned to Indonesia after serving with the U.N.O.C. in the Congo.

JANUARY 1964

7. President Sukarno, accompanied by First Vice-Premier/Foreign Minister Dr. Subandrio and other dignitaries, arrived in Manila for the first Mushawarah Maphilindo with the Philippines. Reaffirming their adherence to the Manila Agreements of mid-1963 and their faith in Maphilindo, the two Presidents announced the "Sukarno-Macapagal Doctrine": that Asian problems should be solved by Asians themselves in an Asian way. Apart from the Joint Statement concerning the Mushawarah Maphilindo, a trade agreement was also signed to strengthen the economic relations between Indonesia and the Philippines.
   Processing agreement signed with Pakistan for the supply to Indonesia of cotton yarn worth US $ 1 million.

11. President Sukarno and party arrived in Cambodia for a 4-day state visit.

12. Indonesian cultural group in the Philippines to pay a return visit for that of the Bayanihan group which joined Indonesia's 1963 Independence Day celebrations.

15. Arrival in Tokyo of President Sukarno and party. During this private visit, President Sukarno received U.S.A. Attorney-General Robert Kennedy, who offered his mediation in the "Malaysia" dispute, in the process of which he later proceeded to the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaya and London.

23. Agreement announced for a cease-fire along the North Kalimantan border, to be effective from 25 January 1964, during which preliminary negotiations on the "Malaysia" issue are to be held in Bangkok between the three Maphilindo countries, with the good offices of Thai Foreign Minister, Thanat Khoman.

26. Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of the Cambodian State, on a 4-day state visit to Indonesia, during which peaceful settlement of the "Malaysia" issue was also discussed.
   A group from the Philippines National Press Club, led by its General Chairman, Macario T. Vicencio, arrived for a goodwill tour as guests of the Indonesian Journalists Association.

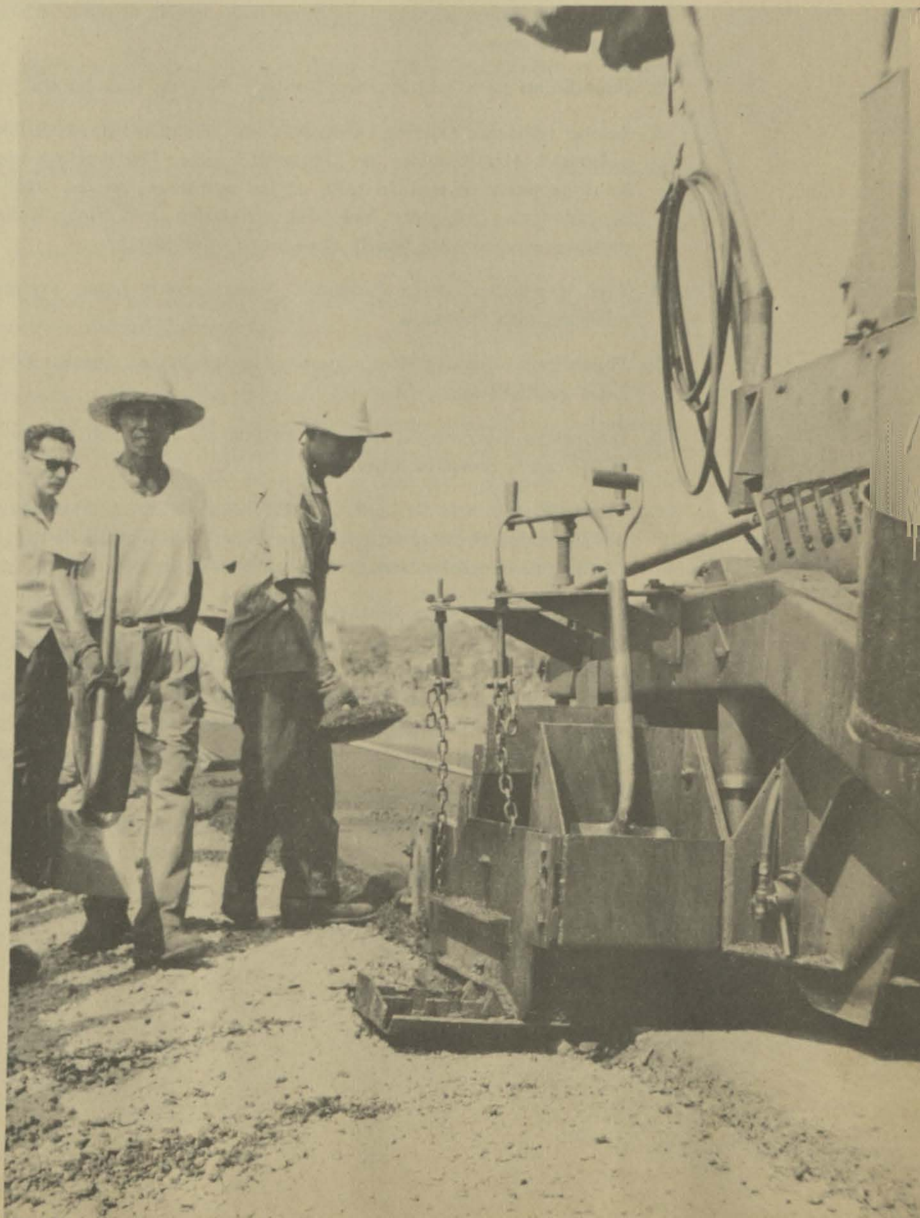
28. Deputy Prime Minister of East Germany, Bruno Leuschner, and party visited Indonesia within the framework of a tour thorough Asia.

30. Thai Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman visited Djakarta in connection with the projected negotiations on "Malaysia" between the Maphilindo Foreign Ministers in Bangkok.

FEBRUARI 1964

5. Opening of the tripartite conference of the Maphilindo Foreign Ministers in Bangkok on the "Malaysia" issue. Agreement was reached on implementation of the cease-fire in North Kalimantan, and it was decided that observers from Thailand should make on-the-spot reports from the border areas as to progress of implementation of the cease-fire. The Foreign Ministers agreed to meet again to prepare for a Maphilindo Summit.
Indonesia's first Ambassador to Cuba, A. M. Hanafi, left for Havana.

8. Through the mediation of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, an opportunity was provided in Cambodia for talks on the "Malaysia" issue between Tunku Abdul Rahman and President Macapagal of the Philippines, who visited Pnom-Penh for this purpose. It proved, however, that the Tunku was not prepared to enter into serious talks.



Working on the Djakarta By-Pass, a highway beginning at the port of Tandjung Priok, and swinging around the city to link up with main roads running west and south of the capital.

11. Ambassadors for Pakistan and Laos, respectively Ahsan-al-Haque and Chao Sopsavana, presented their credentials.

12. Five Ambassadors of the Republic of Indonesia sworn in, being respectively Abdulmutallib as Ambassador to Sweden and Finland, Manai Sophian to the Soviet Union, Djawoto to China, Brig. General Sugih Arto to Burma and Harsono Reksoatmodjo to Japan.

17. Franz Jonas, Mayor of the City of Vienna, came on a visit to Indonesia as guest of President Sukarno.

22. President Macapagal of the Philippines arrived with his entourage for a week's state visit to Indonesia.

26. Joint Venture Agreements signed with various private companies in the U.S.A., Holland, West Germany and France. These agreements provide for the formation of joint Indonesian-foreign companies for marketing "weak" Indonesian exports such as pepper, manioc, rubber and other small-holders and estate products.

MARCH 1964

1. The "Tjenderawasih" Expedition of Indonesian and Japanese scientists and climbers, under the leadership of Lt. Colonel Azwar Hamid, successfully accomplished the first scaling of Sukarno Peak, the highest mountain in West Irian which, at some 16,500 feet above sea level, is covered in perpetual snow.

2. Foundation stone laid in a small village in West Java for the first Indonesian rocket industry.

3. Second tripartite meeting of Maphilindo Ministers opened in Bangkok to discuss preparations for a Summit Meeting over the "Malaysia" issue. The meeting reached a deadlock when the Kuala Lumpur party refused, in spite of the agreement on the cease-fire, to continue discussions until all Indonesian volunteers had been withdrawn from North Kalimantan. All further efforts to find common ground were finally abandoned on 6 March.

4. The 16-member Osaka Economic Mission from Japan arrived for exploratory talks on trade relations with Indonesia.

5. Polish Parliamentary Mission, under Czeslaw Wyech, Speaker of the Polish Parliament, arrived for a 7-day goodwill tour.

6. Indonesian Government donated 300,000 cc. of cholera vaccine to the Philippines to aid victims of the recent floods in Mindanao.

8. Training ship R.I. Dewa Rutji left Indonesia for a 6-months training cruise around the world, during which the ship will visit the New York World's Fair.
Conference of All-Indonesian Writers opened in Djakarta.

11. Conference opened in Djakarta between the Presidium of the Cabinet and the "Tjatur Tunggal" (local Heads of Government, Police, Attorney-General's Department and Military Territorial Command) from all over the country, to tackle the problem of self-sufficiency in foodstuffs and to increase the resistance of the Indonesian Revolution. At the end of the Conference, the local leaders of the National Front were added to the regional leadership in each of the first-level divisions of local government, so that the Tjatur Tunggal has now become "Pantja Tunggal" (a unity of five).

13. Agreement signed for the opening of a branch office of the Indonesian National Newsagency ANTARA, in Berlin.

19. Agreement signed with the Philippines to promote co-operation in trade and shipping.

20. Joint Venture agreement signed with the Netherlands, whereby the two countries will establish a sales organisation for Indonesian products for the world market.

21. Through a Delegation under Engineer Abu Prajitno, Director-General of the State Railways Enterprise, Indonesia participated in the Railways Conference in Cairo.

23. Opening in Colombo of preparatory meeting to arrange for the Second Non-Aligned Countries Conference, scheduled to be held at Summit level in Cairo in the first week of October 1964. The Indonesian Delegation was led by Mrs Supeni, Third Deputy to the Foreign Minister.

24. Rumanian Ambassador, Vasilo Gindila, presented his credentials.

25. First Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister, Dr. Subandrio, left with members of his staff for a series of goodwill visits to the United Arab Republic, Algeria, France, Italy and Holland.

26. National Production Board installed, with Third Vice-Premier Chaerul Saleh as Chairman, to boost food production and to increase the resistance of the Indonesian Revolution.

APRIL 1964

1. At the invitation of Dutch Foreign Minister Luns, Foreign Minister Subandrio arrived in the Netherlands for his first visit after the settlement of the West Irian dispute. The 3-day visit, to promote normal relations between the two countries, especially in economic and technical co-operation, was concluded with an audience with Queen Juliana at Soestdijk Palace.

2. Air Marshal Asghar Khan of Pakistan arrived in Indonesia for a 5-day official visit as guest of Minister/Commander of the Air Force, Air Marshal Omar Dani.
Fifty infiltrators from neo-colonialist "Malaysia" captured in the Riau Islands.

4. First Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister, Dr. Subandrio, arrived in Paris for talks with President de Gaulle on Indonesian-French relations.
F.A.O. Coconut survey team in Menado, North Sulawesi, to investigate the rehabilitation of planting and the eradication of disease amongst coconut palms there and in Central Sulawesi.

5. North Korean Parliamentary delegation, led by Tjoi Wan Taik, arrived for a 2-week visit at the invitation of the Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat Gotong-Royong.

6. At the invitation of Italian Foreign Minister Giuseppe Saragat, Dr. Subandrio visited Rome and, while there, conferred with Premier Aldo Moro on Indonesian-Italian relations.
The United Nations Conference on International Trade and Development, of which Indonesia was one of the sponsors, opened in Geneva, with the Indonesian Delegation led by Trade Minister Adam Malik. Although unable to secure immediate relief for the international trade problems of the developing countries, because the industrially-advanced countries feel their interests threatened, the Final Act of this Conference may be said to have made the first step towards altering the structure of international trade in the interests of the developing countries. At the conclusion of the Conference, Seventy-seven Developing Countries issued a Joint Declaration which includes the statement that their unity is an indispensable instrument for securing the adoption of new attitudes and new approaches in the international economic field.

8. The first Algerian Ambassador to Indonesia, Larbi Damaglatrous, presented his credentials.
A Training Centre for Statisticians opened in Djakarta.

10. Meeting of Ministers from 22 African and Asian countries (Afghanistan, Algeria, Cambodia, Cameroons, Ceylon, China, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Liberia, Morocco, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Syria, Tanganyika, Turkey and United Arab Republic) held in Djakarta at the invitation of the Indonesian Government to prepare for a Second African-

Asian Conference. The discussions showed that, since the First Asian-African Conference in 1955, the desire for solidarity had increased amongst the participants, and it was decided that the Second African-Asian Conference should be held at Summit level in Africa from 10th March 1965. The purposes of the Second Conference and a provisional agenda were agreed upon, whilst it was arranged that the outcome of the U.N. Conference on International Trade and Development should be evaluated by the Asian and African countries for further action by the Second African-Asian Conference. A fifteen-member standing committee was established to assist the host country.

15. Mukarto Notowidagdo, Indonesia's Ambassador to Canada, presented his credentials.

16. Delivery of a number of warships purchased by the Indonesian Government from the Soviet Union. Production-Sharing Agreement signed with Japan for timber exploitation and a pearl industry. The Indonesian Organisation for Asian-African People's Solidarity (OISRAA) strongly condemned the provocative acts by the U.S.A. Seventh Fleet in the Indonesian Ocean.

17. New Zealand Prime Minister, Keith Holyoake, during a brief visit to Djakarta, was received by Foreign Minister Subandrio who outlined Indonesia's stand on the neo-colonialist "Malaysia" project.

18. Foreign Minister/Minister for Trade of the Republic of Zanzibar, Mohammad Babu, was received by First Vice-Premier Dr. Subandrio. The two Ministers issued a Joint Communique stating that they shared the opinion that, notwithstanding the present situation with regard to the so-called "Malaysia", ways and means should be explored to find an agreed solution through negotiations between Indonesia, the Philippines and the Kuala Lumpur regime, based on the letter and spirit of the Manila Agreements and the Sukarno-Macapagal Doctrine, and without interference from outside powers.
Third Asian-African Film Festival opened in Djakarta. During the general sitting, delegates expressed their support for Indonesia's stand over the neo-colonialist "Malaysia" project.
The Bandung Institute of Technology graduated 574 students.



Algeria's first Ambassador to Indonesia, Larbi Damaglatrous, is taken by the President on an introductory tour of witnesses to his presentation of credentials.

22. President Sukarno and First Vice-Premier Dr. Subandrio received U.S.A. Assistant Deputy Secretary for Defence, Peter Solbert, who was accompanied by the U.S.A. Ambassador to Indonesia, Howard P. Jones, and discussed South-East Asian problems. Delivery of 600 railway vans from Rumania.

27. An Economic Delegation led by Umarjadi, Fourth Deputy to the Foreign Minister, in Belgrade to discuss promotion of Indonesian-Yugoslav economic relations.

30. Indonesia's Ambassador to Yugoslavia, Subiakto, presented his credentials.
Contract signed with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the purchase of 100,000 tons of rice.

MAY 1964

1. Visiting Japanese Parliamentary Delegation, accompanied by Japanese journalists, called on President Sukarno. Views were exchanged on economic relations between the two countries and on the "Malaysia" issue.

2. One hundred and forty-five members of the Indonesian Air Force were decorated for merit during the campaign to liberate West Irian from colonial rule.

3. Congress of the Indonesian Council of Churches opened in Djakarta.

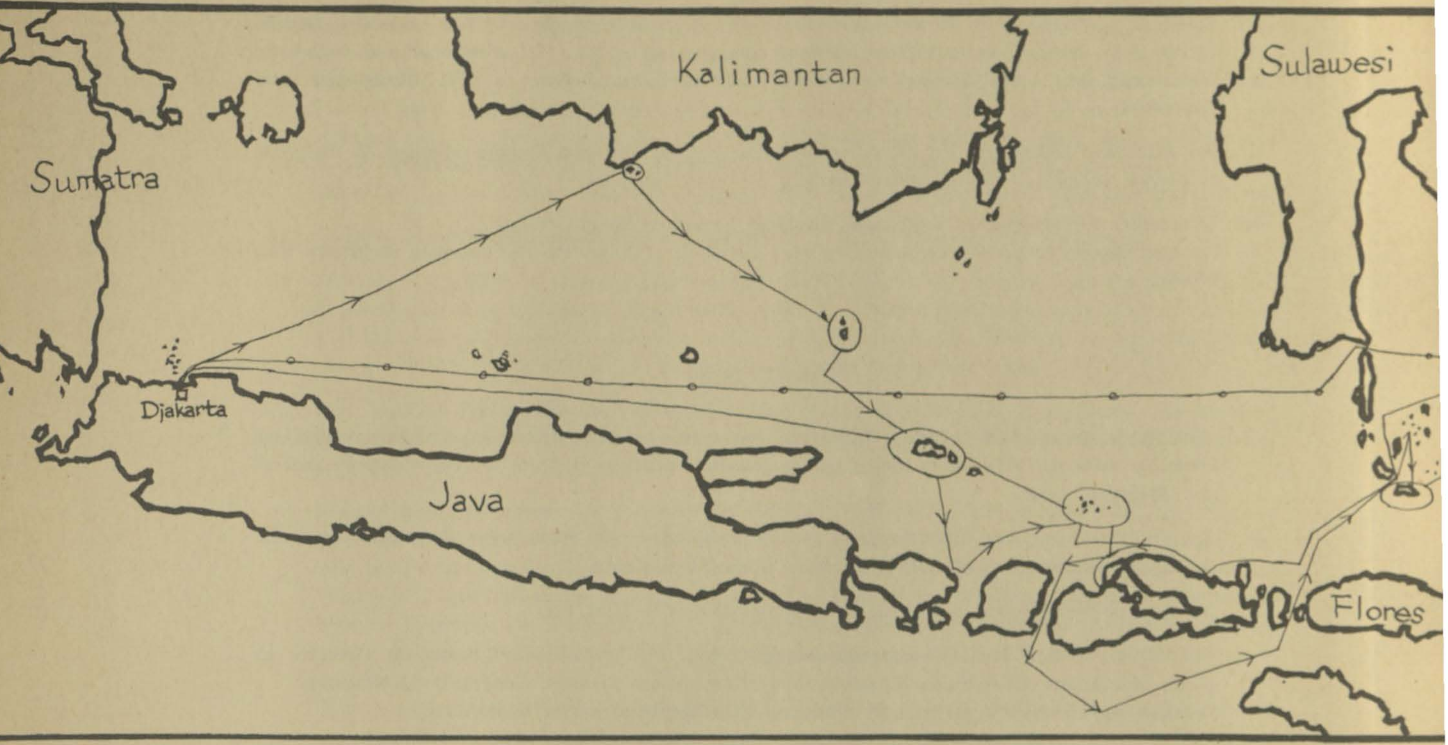
5. The U.S.A. Armed Forces' Industrial College Team, led by Colonel Tillman, in Djakarta as guests of Minister Co-ordinator/Chief of Staff of the Armed Services, General A. H. Nasution.
Contract signed with Yugoslavia for building an assembly plant for road rollers.

6. Agreement signed for Indonesian-Dutch co-operation in building a shipyard at Tandjung Priok.

9. An Economic-Financial Mission, led by Minister for the Central Bank Jusuf Muda Dalam, left for Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Hungary.
Beginning of the first Indonesian marine expedition, "Operasi Baruna", so-named after a mythical sea-god. Lasting for two and a half months, the inter-departmental scientific expedition conducted a survey in marine biology, oceanography and marine geology in the Indonesian waters south



The formal welcome at the airport over, President Sukarno is a friendly host to Japan's Hayato and Madame Ikeda.



These are the routes taken by the three ships of the mari

of the equator and from the west of Java to the south-west of West Irian. At certain islands, scientists also studied reptilian and bird life. The surveys are to be followed up by specialised expeditions at a later stage.

11. Fourth Asian Conference on Occupational Health opened in Djakarta.

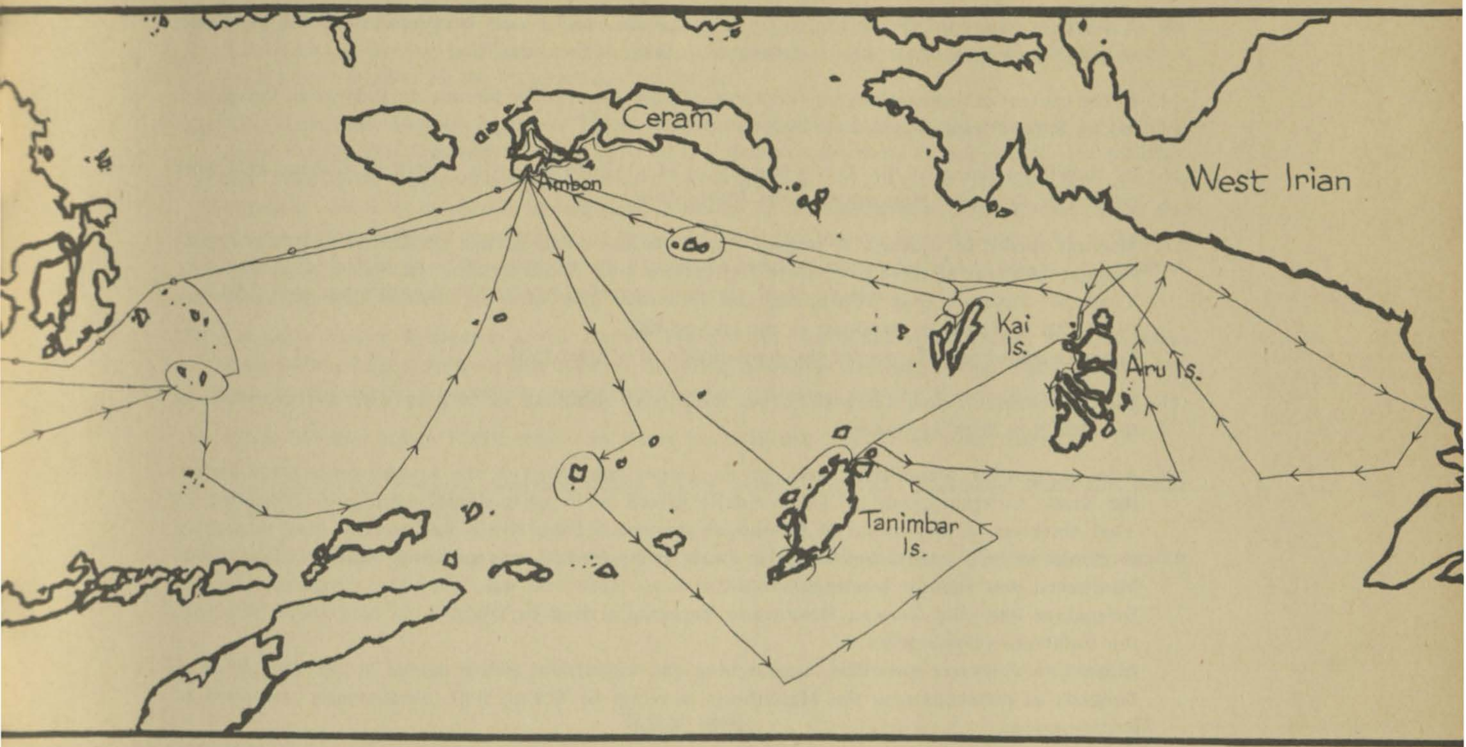
13. Indonesia's Ambassador to Norway, Susanto Djojosugito, presented his credentials.

17. Indonesian Red Cross participated in the Sydney Forum of the South-East Asia Pacific Red Cross Society.

18. First Vice-Premier/Foreign Minister Dr. Subandrio was appointed Deputy Supreme Commander of the newly-created Supreme Command for Retooling the Apparatus of the Revolution (KOTRAR).

21. During the world badminton championship in Tokyo, Indonesia was able to retain the Thomas Cup by beating the Danish challengers. Having won three world championships in succession, Indonesia has held the Cup since 1958.
Sent by President Sukarno, an Indonesian Cultural Mission left for a 10-day performance tour of Cambodia.

24. Arrival of United Nations Deputy Chef de Cabinet, Jose Rolz Bennet, to discuss further implementation of the agreement on West Irian signed in New York on 15 August 1962.



xpedition. "Operasi Baruna", through Indonesian waters.

25. President Sukarno accepted the credentials of the Ambassador of Iraq, Abdul Munim Gaelani, and the Ambassador of Afghanistan, Moh. Abram Parwanta.

26. Indonesia will not demand any preconditions before joining the second Maphilindo Summit to be convened in Tokyo to discuss the "Malaysia" issue, President Sukarno announced. This new effort to negotiate the "Malaysia" issue resulted from the persistent efforts of the Philippines. Conference opened in Djakarta of All-Indonesia Moslem Scholars.

JUNE 1964

1. Agreement reached to hold a tripartite meeting at Summit level in Tokyo to negotiate the "Malaysia" issue. Immediately preceding the meeting between President Sukarno, President Macapagal and Tunku Abdul Rahman, their Foreign Ministers will meet to recommend the subjects for discussion in the Summit negotiations.
Commemoration of the Birth of Pantja Sila, Indonesia's State Philosophy comprised of the Five Principles of God Almighty, Nationalism, Internationalism, Democracy and Social Justice.

2. Contract signed by the Indonesian Government for the supply of 1.9 million tons of bauxite to three major Japanese aluminium manufacturers.

3. Australian External Affairs Minister, Paul Hasluck, on a visit to Djakarta, during which he discussed Indonesian-Australian relations with Indonesian authorities.

4. In the context of preparations for the Asian-African Workers Conference, an Indonesian Delegation, led by Suhardiman, departed for Africa.

5. In Manila *en route* for the Tokyo Summit of Maphilindo countries, President Sukarno held brief talks with President Macapagal of the Philippines.

6. Meeting opened in Djakarta to prepare for an African-Asian Islamic Conference to promote unity amongst Moslems of these continents. Delegations from Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Republic, Thailand, Pakistan, Iraq, Philippines and Indonesia (the initiator) decided that the Conference should be convened in Bandung at the end of 1964.
Contract signed with Japan for the construction of a sugar mill.

11. Joint Indonesian-Dutch Commission on West Irian installed, in keeping with the provisions of the 1962 New York Agreement.

14. After postponing Maphilindo meetings to re-open discussion of the arrangements made earlier, the Kuala Lumpur group in Tokyo finally agreed as to what should constitute verification by Thai observers of withdrawal of Indonesian volunteers from North Kalimantan; only subsequent to receipt of such verification were the Kuala Lumpur regime prepared to begin the Maphilindo Ministerial and Summit Meetings.
Delegation from the German Democratic Republic arrived in Djakarta to hold trade talks with the Indonesian Government.
Indonesian volunteer guerrillas, approaching the withdrawal points agreed at the time fixed in Bangkok as preliminary to the Maphilindo meetings in Tokyo, were treacherously ambushed by British troops.

President Sukarno addressing the audience at the unveiling of the Heroes Monument, Djakarta.



18. After further intransigent delays from the Kuala Lumpur party, Ministerial talks began in the Maphilindo gathering in Tokyo, withdrawal of Indonesian volunteers from North Kalimantan having been verified by the Thai on-the-spot teams.

20. The Maphilindo Summit began in Tokyo. Philippines President Macapagal proposed an African-Asian Conciliation Commission, with each of the Maphilindo countries appointing one member, and these three members electing a fourth. This proposal was adopted without hesitation by Indonesia which even agreed immediately to abide by the Commission's recommendations. But Tunku Abdul Rahman agreed only in principle, with the proviso that volunteers be withdrawn and confrontation be ended immediately. Hence the meeting had to be broken off, as, it appeared, had been the objective of the Kuala Lumpur regime from the start.

22. During a visit to Indonesia, Soviet Deputy Premier Anastas Mikoyan, held talks with President Sukarno in which agreement was reached regarding questions involved in the "Malaysia" dispute, and concerning the economic arrangements between Indonesia and the Soviet Union.

23. Trade Minister Adam Malik arrived in Rome for talks with the Italian Government.

26. Thirteen Police Officers, studying under grants from the A.I.D., graduated from the Police Academy in Washington D.C.

29. A group of 357 teachers, who had volunteered for all-purpose service in the campaign against neo-colonialist "Malaysia", left for border areas in Kalimantan.

JULY 1964

1. National Police Day.

2. Rockets being tested in West Java by the Bandung Institute of Technology.

8. To further the talks on Indonesian-Soviet relations held during the visit of Deputy Premier Mikoyan, during which he pledged the full support of the Soviet people for Indonesia's struggle to crush the neo-colonialist "Malaysia" project, First Vice-Premier/Foreign Minister Dr. Subandrio departed for Moscow.

9. President Sukarno turned the first sod for the construction of a Trade and Tourist Centre in Djakarta.

10. Ten thousand people demonstrated before the British Consulate in Surabaya in protest against the neo-colonialist "Malaysia" project.

12. Co-operatives Day celebrated throughout the country.

14. Shell Indonesia's marketing assets in the country transferred to the state Oil Company PERTAMIN.

17. Minister/Commander of the Navy, Rear Admiral Martadinata, inaugurated the Naval Officers Training Course at Surabaya for 15 cadets from the Republic of Zanzibar.
Congress of the Indonesian Jurists Association opened in Surabaya.
Execution begun of the Indonesian-Yugoslav contract for the building of an electric power station near Makassar, South Sulawesi.
A delegation of Pakistani businessmen, led by Mr. Siddique Dawood, arrived on a visit to Indonesia.

19. During his return voyage from Moscow, First Vice-Premier/Foreign Minister Dr. Subandrio held brief talks with United Nations General Secretary U Thant in Rome. He also visited Cairo.

24. Opening in Djakarta of the Tenth Congress of the All-Indonesia Women's Organisation KOWANI.

25. Dutch Foreign Minister, Dr. Josef Luns, accompanied by his wife, arrived for a 2-week official visit to Indonesia at the invitation of First Vice-Premier/Foreign Minister Dr. Subandrio. During this visit, Dr. Luns was received by President Sukarno, toured various parts of the country, and held talks with Dr. Subandrio aimed at further promoting normal relations between Indonesia and the Netherlands.

27. Minister Co-ordinator/Chief of Staff of the Armed Service, General A. H. Nasution, opened the country's first symposium on rockets.

AUGUST 1964

1. Sultan Hamengku Buwono installed as Minister/Chairman of the Leadership of the Comptrolling Agency, and J. D. Massie as Minister for Regulating Private Banks and Capital.

2. Support for Indonesia's struggle against the neo-colonialist "Malaysia" project voiced by Premier Kim Il Sung of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and by delegates to the Tenth Conference against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs.

3. A pepper-processing plant opened at Teluk Betung, South Sumatra.

4. Professor Sujono Hadinoto, Dean of the Faculty of Law and Social Sciences, University of Indonesia, installed as Second Vice-Chairman of the Supreme Advisory Council, with the rank of Minister.

8. The Governments of the Republic of Indonesia and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, agreed to raise their representation to the level of embassies.

9. A mass rally of university students and other youth in Djakarta demanded the severance of diplomatic relations with Britain for its neo-colonial rule in the so-called "Federation of Malaysia", and the granting of *de jure* recognition to the Unitary State of North Kalimantan.
The Sinhalese population of Ceylon voiced their support for Indonesia over the "Malaysia" issue.

10. South Viet-Nam closed its representation in Indonesia and requested the Indonesian Government to recall its mission from Saigon.

11. The Indonesian Government ordered the closing of the offices of the British Council in this country.
Invitation received by Indonesia to attend the 1964 Olympic Games in Tokyo.
Contract signed with Italy for development of a petro-chemical project.

12. "With or without negotiations, Indonesia will settle the 'Malaysia' dispute" – statement by First Vice-Premier/Foreign Minister Dr. Subandrio.

14. The Cambodian Head of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, arrived in Djakarta as guest of President Sukarno to witness the Independence Day celebrations. During this visit, matters of mutual interest were discussed with First Vice-Premier Dr. Subandrio.

15. First Vice-Premier/Foreign Minister Dr. Subandrio received the Australian Ambassador to discuss matters of common interest, especially the mapping of the West Irian border.

16. Parliamentary Delegation from the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, led by Truong Chin, in Djakarta as guests of the Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat Gotong-Royong to witness the Independence Day celebration. The leader of the Delegation stated that the Viet-Namese people supported Indonesia's struggle against neo-colonialist "Malaysia".

17. Nineteenth anniversary of the Proclamation of Independence. Over a million people gathered before Istana Merdeka in Djakarta to hear the President's address to the nation, while scores of millions more gathered at centres throughout the country for the celebrations.



The naval training ship, R. I. Dewa Rutji, returning home from a half-year's cruise during which she circumnavigated the globe.

19. Opening of the Second African-Asian Pediatrics Conference in Djakarta.

21. South Sulawesi authorities seized arms and ammunition being smuggled by the neo-colonialist "Malaysia" project to the Kahar-Selle-Sose terrorist gangs.
Three-day sitting of the GANEFO Executive Board closed with a resolution condemning the hostile and unfair actions of international sports federations in ostracising GANEFO participants.

26. Opening in Djakarta of the All-Indonesia Catholic Women's Congress.

27. Cabinet reshuffled. The new composition, to be known as the "Dwikora Cabinet", has ten instead of the former eight compartments, and includes some new Ministers, but is not transformed in principle.

28. Director of the National Institute of Biology, Professor Otto Sumarwoto, departed for Geneva to attend the Third United Nations Conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

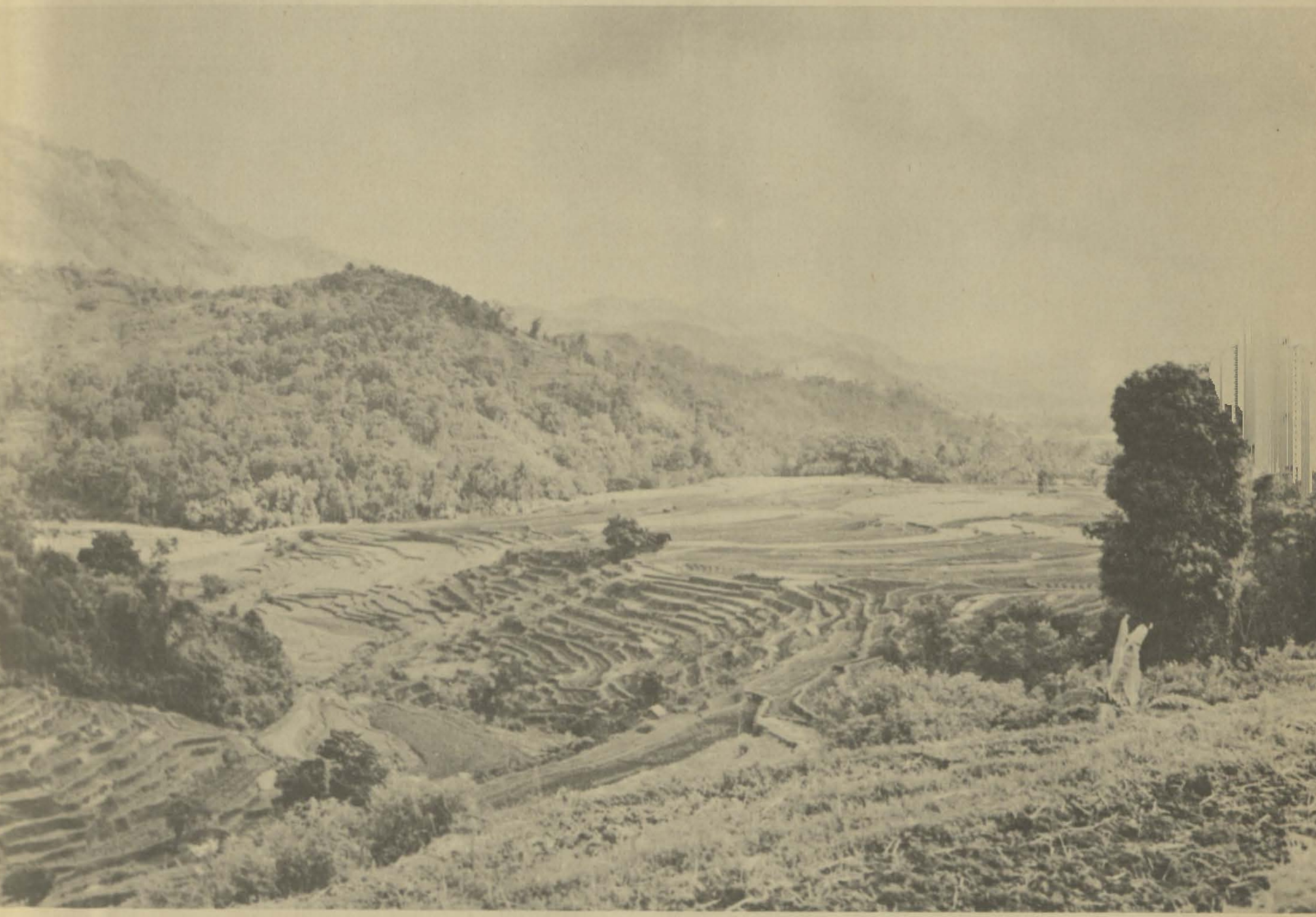
30. Opening of a course for Cadres of the Indonesian Revolution. President Sukarno stressed that participants must act in a revolutionary manner to eliminate imperialism and colonialism, and to build a just and prosperous society.

31. Concluding a 6-day tour through North Sulawesi, East and South Kalimantan, First Vice-Premier/ Foreign Minister Dr. Subandrio returned to Djakarta.

An old grave-yard discovered in disrepair during construction of the Djakarta By-Pass was restored by the City Council.



Minister Sumarno, then Governor of Djakarta Raya, lays a wreath; he is now Minister for Home Affairs.



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